The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXI NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1920 No. 2870

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agents for Subscriptions and Advertising: Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 72 Oxford St., London.

BRYAN will and will not win his fight for Prohibition; Mr. Wilson will dominate the Convention, he will not dominate it; he will dictate the platform and not the nomination; he will dictate the nomination and not the platform; he and Mr. McAdoo will and will not accept the nomination—with these delightfully positive assurances from San Francisco and dozens of others the American people are being regaled as to the outcome of the Democratic Convention as we go to press. The worst and the best may be known ere this issue of *The Nation* reaches the hands of its readers. But this much may safely be said now: It is largely a convention of office-holders and in its platform will point with pride to those things Mr. Wilson tells it to recall, while it will leave unsaid those things the autocrat of the White House wishes ignored. The nomination will be as much of a compromise as was that at Chicago and the best possible candidate will not be chosen. But the dry men will have their way, even if at least 90 per cent of the delegates favor beer, wine, and hard liquors, and plenty of them. It will no more be an unbossed convention than was that at Chicago, for a few men will pull the strings, Charles F. Murphy, the indicted boss of Tammany Hall, being among them with, it is alleged, no less than 300 votes in his control. So some of the American people will have the delightful experience of being humbugged once more—not as many as heretofore, but still enough to make the farce completely successful; and those who refuse to accept the dicta of this motley throng will be told that they are "kickers" and "bolters," quite impractical visionaries, and certainly disloyal to the country if they refuse to choose between the evil of Chicago and that of San Francisco.

SENATOR HARDING should be spared the pain of direct rebuttal. His prepared statement answering the request submitted to him by the National Woman's Party was a modest denial of his right to "attempt to force" any State executive to hasten action on the suffrage amendment. Presumably this denial included other methods than force; he will neither urge, advise, nor suggest. He will, in fact, stand pat unless some State executive should come around and ask his advice. In such case, said the Senator under pressure of rapid-fire questioning on the part of the suffragists, he would "commend" the thing they desired. He hinted mysteriously at possible good news in the near future along that line, and in deference to his oracular tone the suffrage leaders have postponed their plan of picketing him. We can hardly believe that his prophetic mind penetrated the possibility of Mr. Wilson's action on the following day, when the President requested Governor Roberts, of Tennessee, to call the Legislature to act on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Governor accepted the suggestion and announced that the Legislature would meet in time to permit the women of the United States to vote in the November election, "provided ratification of the Suffrage Amendment is completed through favorable action by Tennessee." By doing exactly what Senator Harding refused to do, the President may have won Tennessee for suffrage and suffrage for the Democratic Party. But on the whole it seems unlikely that the President's action was the Senator's "good news."

"A MENACE to the world," Mr. A. G. Gardiner calls the Supreme Council in an article contributed to the London *Daily News*. It is nothing more and nothing less than that. Composed as it is now only of Lloyd George and Millerand, advised by two soldiers, Foch and Sir Henry Wilson, it intends to rule the world and is for the present doing it. Napoleon never had such power nor used what he had more despotically. This council of two is, as Mr. Gardiner points out, "the most dangerous absolutism on record." It meets in secret, reports to nobody, is responsible to no one, and is practically beyond the reach of public sentiment. It is a profound danger to the League of Nations, which infant these two men are now stabbing in the back while pretending to baptize. Yet it is into their hands we are asked to place the destinies of America, for they will dominate in the Council of the League if it ever suits their purpose to abandon the Supreme Council for the League's governing body. Mr. Gardiner declares that the heel of this brutal Supreme Council despotism "must be kicked away before Europe can rise." Quite true. But who is to do the kicking? As Lloyd George is the greater danger it might seem as if the British should begin to bell their cat. There is no sign of such a happening. Millerand and

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Lloyd George are more firmly in the saddle than ever before; reaction reigns in Europe and the outlook for a wholesome revolution, alas, recedes. Most amazing of all, our American foreign policy seems to be dominated by the Supreme Council of two and their great militarists. That despotic body which Mr. Gardiner considers as "inept and ignorant" as it is all-powerful plays its own hand for its own purposes day by day.

EXCEPT for the authorization of a war with the Turkish Nationalists, the conference of the Allied Premiers at Boulogne appears to have accomplished little that is definitive. The suggestion of 110,000,000,000 to 120,000,000,000 marks gold as the maximum amount of the indemnity to be demanded of Germany turns out to be only a trial figure, to be used as a basis of discussion if the postponed Spa conference ever meets. Germany, it is said, will be asked to state how much of an indemnity it can afford or is willing to pay, and the Allies, with the Boulogne figures in mind, will then decide how much they are willing to accept. Germany, in the meantime, will be supposed not to know exactly what the Allies are thinking about. The demand of France for 55 per cent of the indemnity, whatever the ultimate amount may be, has encountered difficulty, first from the insistence of Italy upon having 20 per cent of the total instead of the much smaller proportion originally allotted to it; and, second, from Mr. Lloyd George's unexpected statement that it was not originally understood between him and Premier Clemenceau that France was to have 55 per cent. The tangled problem now goes to the Reparation Commission for solution. The international bankers, upon whose willingness to support an international loan based upon the indemnity the success of the scheme depends, are yet to be heard from. As for the war against the Turkish Nationalists, that is likely to prove a serious matter. If the Greeks, who are eager for the fray, prove unequal to the task, as Marshal Foch apparently thinks that they will, the Allies must come to their aid. No wonder that the Paris *Temps*, which consistently reflects official opinion, should ask pointedly what France is likely to gain out of the war, and whether the whole thing is not at bottom a struggle between England—working with Greece—and Russia for supremacy in the East. Thus does the happy family of the Allies go on from quarrel to quarrel.

WITH the international labor boycott of Hungary something new has appeared in the world. Workers have issued manifestos and appeals before this, but never before have the organized forces of labor taken concerted action to accomplish political changes in countries other than their own. The call issued by the International Federation of Trade Unions to the workers of the world to unite against tyranny in Hungary, printed in this issue of our International Relations Section, is an amazing document. What the League of Nations has failed to accomplish, what the Allies have refused even to attempt, the workers themselves have determined to do. Whether they can succeed in turning out of office Hungary's Government of reaction and terror is yet to be seen; the people of Hungary may starve before the Government collapses. What is already proved is the power of organized labor to cut off a nation from intercourse with the world. When the issue is simple and clear-cut and appealing, labor's power to paralyze, if not to heal, would seem to be infinite. The establishment of this fact may change the course of history. If international labor can isolate Hungary, international labor can prevent war.

THE rioting and street fighting which have been going on in Londonderry are not necessarily indicative of any change in the policy either of Sinn Fein or of its opponents. So far as the incidents of the affair are concerned, they are only a peculiarly grave and startling illustration of the sort of thing that has been taking place with increasing frequency of late in all parts of Ireland. That one of the largest cities in the country, and an Ulster city, too, should have been given over for days to fierce and bloody civil war affords convincing proof, however, if proof of any kind were needed, that the Sinn Fein movement is not confined principally to the so-called Catholic counties, and that the Ulster Unionists have not been making mere empty boasts and threats when they have talked about their willingness to fight. No Government can be expected to do less than to repress such outbreaks if it can, but the weakness and tardiness with which the authorities at Dublin Castle have acted in the case of Londonderry indicate both fear and uncertainty, and in any case can hardly have any other effect than that of bringing the Government still further into contempt. How long, one cannot but ask, is this sort of thing to be kept up? Is there no wisdom in Great Britain that can bring Sinn Feiners and Unionists together and have the situation talked over? Is there no friendly mediation to tender its good offices? Is unreserved acceptance of British rule, enforced if need be by armies and navies, the only price which Great Britain has to offer for the continuance of Ireland within the Empire?

THE collapse of Herbert Hoover as the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of numberless Americans disgusted with the political game as played by the major parties is pathetic. To a great section of the more liberal electorate, especially to the newly-enfranchised women, Hoover appeared the man of the hour. Disliked and distrusted by the party bosses, with enmities like those of Hearst, Penrose, and Reed to conjure with, it is no overstatement to say that Hoover had the nation's leadership in his grasp. That he threw away his opportunity can only in a slight degree be laid to political ineptitude. For the opportunity, made clear to Mr. Hoover by at least some of his friends, was plainly indicated in his first definite campaign statement on March 10, when he said:

> I am an independent progressive in the issues before us today. I think at this time the issues before the country transcend partisanship. . . . The issues confronting us are new and the alignment upon them has not yet been made by the great parties. I still object as much to the reactionary group in the Republican Party as I do to the radical group in the Democratic Party. . . . I belong to a group which thinks that the American people should select their own officials at their own initiative and volition and that resents the manufacture of officials by machine methods.

This was the oriflamme of the Hoover movement and the peak of the campaign as far as Hoover himself was concerned. On April 10 he struck his colors, discovered that he was a Republican, and in another week foreswore a Democratic nomination. Politically, this was folly. Intellectually, it was worse. Yet as late as June 15, addressing the Rutgers College alumni, he declared:

> The war has caused a widespread distrust of the old methods

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of political action and a consequent demand for non-partisanship in politics. There has come a demand for a better justice and a higher standard of political conduct, and it would be well for the old-line politicians to pay heed to this.

HOW well the old-line politicians paid heed was shown at Chicago, and three days later, June 18, after breakfasting with Senator Harding, Hoover issued a statement that:

> The greater part of it (the Chicago platform) is constructive and progressive. Nothing prevents the compromise planks on labor, the League, etc., from being given a forward-looking interpretation.

No, Mr. Hoover, nothing prevents Warren G. Harding from becoming a second Lincoln nor the Old Guard from devoting itself to the people's welfare. Mr. Hoover is still young, with years of useful public service ahead. If he is endowed with any part of his accredited liberalism, four years' association with the "constructive and progressive" platform-makers he has now espoused may furnish him some measure of the enlightenment and disillusion which his recent supporters already possess. For the present he has forfeited his chance of liberal leadership, and his opportunity of regaining it will require something vastly different from the ingrowing Mr. Hoover of the last three months —something more akin to the figure honored by numerous Americans of widely divergent social and political creeds.

THE dynamite is left strewed around in one section of West Virginia. Outsiders, such as Government officials and Congressmen, do not believe it is dynamite. The responsible State officials know it is dynamite, and refuse to touch it. In spite of the dozen men killed at Matewan and the publicity given to conditions in the southwest counties of West Virginia, nothing has been done. The A. F. of L. convention at Montreal had ample time to listen to attacks on Russia for not possessing representative government, but it was too busy for a statement on the dictatorship of the gun-men in West Virginia. All the convention did was to pass a pious resolution calling for a Congressional investigation. The fault is by no means all on the part of public officials at Charleston and Washington. The local officers of the United Mine Workers were so little interested that they did not go to the A. F. of L. convention and make a protest on the floor. These same labor leaders had been proclaiming that they had been robbed of Constitutional rights, but they prefer picturesque complaint to such steps toward a sane solution as an effective presentation of their case in the audience of labor. Our American temperament tires rapidly in a crusade. Then suddenly we boil over and act drastically. That is the danger in West Virginia. Injustice is met with indifference. There is no sure, steady campaign of publicity and education. Later there may be a murderous upheaval.

"CONDITIONS in this district are worse than they were in Russia." These are not the words of a Socialist editor or a wild radical, but the opinion of a United States judge in Pittsburgh, apropos of the case of four Croatians who had been arrested, thrown into jail, and held in defiance of law on suspicion that they were connected with the Communist Party. According to a special dispatch to the New York *World*, Judge Thomson said: "This case makes my blood boil. The methods of the Department of Justice have created more anarchy than all the radical parties put together. I did not suppose this kind of thing could happen in a country where we have a Constitution." Another judge declared the simple truth that the Department of Justice has "no right to arrest a man simply because he happens to belong to a political party." The four men were sent to prison for ten days as suspicious persons on the recommendation of agents of the Department of Justice, and were then kept in jail without any pretense of any charge except that they were members of the Communist Party. It appeared, moreover, that the prisoners *were not given any opportunity to refute the allegations* that they were members of that Party! More than that, Palmer's agents "never offered the slightest proof in court that these latest victims were members of the Communist Party." Could anything be more deliberately calculated to bring the American Government into contempt and to offset any amount of Americanization work? What Judge Anderson has found out in Boston we set forth at length elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation*. But what shall be said of the occupant of the White House who defies the Republicans to prove that any man has been wrongfully punished for opinions under his Administration?

IT almost seemed as if the old Charles E. Hughes had turned up at Harvard on Commencement Day—not Hughes the candidate and not Hughes the Supreme Court Justice, but Hughes the Governor with the desire to right grievous wrongs. He returned to an old mutton of his in denouncing the passion for legislation, and particularly the passion to bring about Utopia by laws which are too frequently drawn without perspective and with so little intelligence as to present "an abundance of elaborate and dreary futilities." Calling attention next to the fact that forty-four convictions were reversed in the past year by appellate tribunals in the United States for flagrant misconduct of the public prosecutor or of the trial judge whereby the accused was deprived of a fair trial, Mr. Hughes declared that "in this hour we find imperative need for a new birth of freedom and a sharp call to make the old guaranties once more vital and real and to give the assurance of liberty under fair laws and responsible administration." Mr. Hughes declared that the result of our war for liberty and democracy was to feed the autocratic appetite, and he asked whether "constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this Republic could survive another great war, even victoriously waged." Finally, he spoke of the recent proof by responsible citizens "of violations of personal rights which savor of the worst practice of tyranny." These are welcome words, particularly in connection with the findings of Judges Anderson and Thomson. But while Mr. Hughes has tardily come to speaking out for American liberties, the overwhelming bulk of his profession is silent in the presence of official and judicial sin. The American Bar Association could bring about the retirement of Mr. Palmer and the ending of the crimes committed by his subordinates within less than a week if it wished to do so. But the legal profession, too, as Mr. Wilson would say, is "in the grip of a heartless economic system," and its most distinguished members are either silent or think, as one of them writes us, that "the extremes to which the radicals go naturally compel the Government to extreme measures" —as if that were an excuse for official wrongdoing.

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A Third Party and Its Candidate

SENATOR BORAH is unquestionably right in declaring, as he is reported to have done in his Salt Lake City interview, that American public opinion is coming more and more to favor the organization of a third party. He is also right in pointing out that the most important things in connection with a third party are the platform and the candidates, and that mistakes at either of those points at the beginning may "queer" a third party movement for good and all. This much being premised, the public will probably be a good deal interested to know where the Senator from Idaho himself stands in relation to the movement in which he perceives a growing popular interest. Senator Borah is an outstanding figure among the Republicans. He has contributed as much as any member of the Senate to the defeat of the treaty, and has been unsparing in his criticism of the Wilson Administration in general. He cannot, we fancy, feel anything but irritation and chagrin at the outcome of the Republican convention at Chicago. What, the public is likely to ask, lies back of his brief interview?

We pointed out last week some of the difficulties which a third party will have to overcome at this time if it is to be an important factor in the November election. Aside from the financial and administrative difficulties involved in the organization of a new party and the conduct of a campaign at this late date, there are a good many divergent ideas to be harmonized both in the framing of a platform and in the choice of candidates. So far as a platform is concerned, however, the disagreements which would have to be harmonized are, perhaps, greater in form than in substance. Notwithstanding the fact that the opposition groups range all the way from moderate liberals to extreme radicals, they nevertheless have a good deal in common.

For example, the voters who today are looking forward with dread to the possible continuance of either a Democratic or a Republican regime are to a man opposed to the control of parties and party policies by the great property interests of banks and business which have long dominated them. The much-discussed high cost of living has been deeply pondered by the American public, and the majority of men and women who are not hopelessly tied to a Republican or Democratic allegiance are convinced that the evil from which they suffer is due more to manipulation of and profiteering in the fundamental necessities of life and industry than to unavoidable economic causes, that neither Congress nor the Administration has shown either the intelligence or the disposition to interfere, that nothing better is to be expected from the Republicans than has been realized from the Democrats, and that the only hope of relief lies in a new party.

There are numerous other points, also, on which the at present unorganized opposition is substantially united. There is practical agreement in demanding either the out and out nationalization of railways, telegraphs, and telephones, and even of mines, forests, and water power, or else such thoroughgoing Federal regulation as will reduce private control for profit to a minimum. The demand for a Federal budget system finds strong support even within the ranks of the two great parties, and is stronger outside of them. The opposition is admittedly a unit in its repudiation of militarism, whether of the army or of the navy, and in its demand for the repeal of all that remains of restrictive war-time legislation, for the immediate release of political prisoners and the stopping of political raids and prosecutions, and for the complete restoration of the Constitutional guaranties of free speech, a free press, and free assembly. As for the peace treaty in general and the League of Nations as now constituted, there is little support left for either of them in the opposition ranks.

There remains the large and important group of questions in which labor is particularly interested. We have more than once expressed our belief that the formation of a strong national labor party would be one of the best things that could happen in American politics; and while such a development seems at this moment to belong to the future, it is clear that any third party that is formed now will have to have the active support of labor. The most extreme claims that have been put forward on behalf of labor would probably not meet with approval in all opposition quarters, but there can be little question that the increasingly radical views on economic questions which are coming to obtain have prepared the way for a third party which will embody in its platform the larger part of the things for which labor stands, and to which neither Republicans nor Democrats can be expected to render more than lip service. If organized labor supports a third party, there is an equal possibility that the organized farmers would support it also. Labor and the farmers have been getting together rapidly of late, and a third party might make clear their essential solidarity.

Where do men like Senator Borah or Senator La Follette stand with reference to a third party movement of this character? Among men now in political life who may be thought of as third party candidates for the Presidency, none are more distinctly national figures than are these two. One must ask some pointed questions, however. As an opponent of the treaty and the League of Nations, and as a relentless critic of the Wilson regime, Senator Borah's position is well known. Were he to be elected President, his foreign policy, if he is honest and sincere, would be in harmony with American traditions of independence and international justice. Where he stands on economic questions and on matters of domestic policy generally, however, is not certain. If he has an American economic program, the public does not know what it is. It is true that he has said some severe things about the "money power," but his remark at Salt Lake City that "if those advocating another ticket lean too far toward either the reactionary or the radical, their efforts will prove futile" suggests that he may have progressed no further in his thinking than the liberalism which has not made up its mind. Senator La Follette is in a different position. Less concerned, at least publicly, with international relations than Senator Borah, he has for years been looked upon as one of the most radical members of the Senate in his economic opinions. Were he to be nominated upon any third party ticket, he would be likely to carry at least four or five Northwestern States, or at any rate to throw them to the Democrats.

What is not clear is that any person who has been long identified, even as an insurgent, with either the Republican or the Democratic party can be accepted as a third party candidate. He certainly cannot hope to be accepted unless he makes plain his position on the issues which a third party would be organized to uphold.

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The Crime in Turkey

CYNICISM is perhaps the only possible attitude toward the Allies' latest adventure in imperial politics. It is difficult to maintain indignation in proportion to events. And yet, when a new series of wars is deliberately unleashed, and more thousands of human beings are deliberately condemned to death and starvation, laughter seems somehow out of place. Greece is to be given a free hand in Turkey. The Allies, fresh from their manifold failures in Russia, are to attempt the same method in Turkey. Turkey will not voluntarily do their bidding, and their own subjects are too clear-sighted and sick of fighting to carry on another hopeless war. So they send in their colonials—in so far as the colonials will obey; and they cheer on, and sell munitions to, every little party or nationality that can be induced to fight to win the Allies' bacon. The policy of the *cordon sanitaire* is again attempted, and the sycophants of the Denikins and Kolchaks will now glorify Venizelos and the Greek generals.

The Allies have carved up Turkey on the map, and much of the disjointing is wisely done. If we had not Egypt and India fresh-scarred in our minds, we might rejoice at the "liberation" of Arabia and Mesopotamia and Palestine; and Armenia and Syria are at least no worse off than under Turkish rule. The French have yielded to Mustapha Kemal's mountaineers, and have abandoned their claims to Cilicia, and the islands of the Aegean return, as is fitting, to Greece—except for the Dodecanese, which the dice of diplomacy have awarded to Italy, but which, if Greece bargains generously in south Albania, may eventually be accorded "the right of self-determination"! Smyrna on the sea-coast is given to Greece, and that sea-coast is doubtless Greek, but with it goes a slice of Turkish interior; and in addition to the territorial amputations, the limping relic of Turkey is—on paper—made a vassal of the Allies. The army is to be under Inter-Allied control; the Turkish budget is to be subjected to preliminary examination by the Allies, who also control Turkish import duties and in a general way Turkish railways and ports.

These are the terms the mere prospect of which threw Turkey into open revolt, which led to the national uprising against the puppet government set up under Allied guns in Constantinople. That puppet government must sign any terms set before it, but the signing is a solemn farce. The Allies have learned and admitted that those terms cannot be enforced upon Turkey without the use of military force, and Lloyd George and Millerand have also admitted that no one of the major Allies can supply from its own people, or even from its colonial subjects, sufficient troops to enforce the will of the western map-makers. Only Greece, little Greece, sick with a Byzantine dream of a millennial empire, volunteered for the task. Greece offered to supply men to crush the Turks into submission. Marshal Foch called the Greek project "visionary" when the Premiers first met at Boulogne, but Venizelos had his say and his way, and now Foch is to direct the campaign, with Greeks and East Indians as his pawns against the Turks. War is never pretty; war between peoples with an historic hatred is race war at its worst.

The Allies will back the Greeks as they backed the anti-Red Russians; and doubtless their agents will seek to stir up neighbor peoples into similar strife. We may expect an Allied attempt to provoke the Armenians into armed conflict with the Turks in the East, just as the French provoked the Armenians of Cilicia into open combat, and then deserted them. We may expect attempts to array Kurd against Turk, just as we already see "loyalist" troops, armed and equipped and paid with Allied money, sent out from Constantinople to join in fratricidal war against the Nationalist Turks on the other side of the straits. We may expect all the wicked intriguing and lying which have made Russia a land of devastation and starvation to be repeated in Turkey.

Fortunately the United States is not a party to the treaty, nor to the League of Nations in whose name these crimes may be committed. Lloyd George has declared that the "mandates" which camouflage the new colonial ventures of Great Britain and France are not granted by the League but by the Supreme Council, which, after all, is decently honest of him; but phrases about reference to the League of Nations are piously strewn throughout the treaty. We may be happy that we are not a part of the League, and that we shall not have to share responsibility for the further failures which lie before it. Our record at Versailles is not such as to warrant golden hopes of what American participation in the decisions might have meant or might mean in the future. So long as our State Department continues its cruel and unintelligent Russian policy, proud hints of what we might have done, or might do, to better Allied policy in other parts of the world are out of place. We may be sickened by the mistakes and crimes of others; but our first task is to attend to our own.

Ventilating a Profession

OBSERVERS of the underpaid and comparatively unimportant individuals who have our children between six and eighteen now in hand have for some time been asking themselves two questions: Would higher salaries suddenly make these individuals better teachers? Granted that better material might eventually be attracted to the profession, does there exist a system for adequately and uniformly equipping it for its business? Six years ago Governor Major of Missouri appealed to the Carnegie Foundation for a thoroughgoing answer to these questions with recommendations under the second head. The answer, prepared by seven of the country's experts, is now published as a report on "The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools," with special reference to Missouri, but with distinctly important application to circumstances everywhere. The recommendations call for improvements both in teaching personnel and in teacher-training organization. The first, the report says, should profit by increasing the dignity of the teaching profession through making wholly new classes of persons available for it; restrictions ought to be lifted, for instance, from married women. The second will be improved by consolidating grammar schools with high schools and standardizing the requirements of teachers in all twelve grades, and also by combining normal schools with university departments of education.

Before the profession of public school teacher can develop the proper amount of respect for itself, says the committee, it must earn the respect of the public, upon which the prestige of any profession depends. A beginning will be made

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when salaries are raised; but no end will be approached until standards are in the way of being defined, standards as vigorous and definite as those in law or medicine—until it ceases to be the common belief that practically anybody can teach who is willing to try. The habit has yet to be overcome of regarding certain positions as trivial, as narrow landings on a social or a professional stairs. It should seem no less absurd for a slip of a girl to take a country school for "experience," marking time there until marriage, than for her to think of taking a position in a city high school for the same purpose. Each of the twelve grades before college should offer a career that no one would suppose he could enter upon lightly. If a girl entered upon it, she should understand that marriage, far from disqualifying her, would decidedly recommend her in so far as it equipped her with valuable, maturing experience. The equipment for any teacher would have to include a genius for the place possessed and a minimum of four years training for that place.

It is in connection with these four years of training that the committee makes its most specific and at the same time its most profound proposals. It proposes in effect that all actual and potential resources for the training of teachers be pooled within the State, that all existing institutions be bound together under a Board of Education and the State University. " 'Normal' schools should drop that name, and as professional colleges of education should become an acknowledged part of the greater university whole simply because they are a part of the State's system of higher education, which is all the term 'university' now implies. . . . The normal schools would thus become State colleges of education within the university and subject to the same consideration as any other branches of that institution." Thus would the currents of fresh pedagogical air so long and desperately desired be set in motion through even the deadest chambers. Competition between normal schools and the university would be dissolved into cooperation, and education generally would gain through a simplification of the system whereby the few most powerful personalities at command now make themselves felt. "Genuine education . . . can proceed only through immediate contact with keen minds fully informed and persuaded of what the rising generation may become."

The committee deals considerately with the normal schools, more considerately no doubt than many laymen would who have had opportunity of observing their products. The contempt of the college men for the "normalite" is fairly well founded, as contempt for prosiness and provincialism and methodical timidity always is well founded. The college man, who wants to be somebody, can feel no warmth for a person who first and last worries about how he shall teach somebody. Perhaps there is little to choose on this ground between a normal school and a university department of education. Yet the university has its large contacts to keep it thrilled, has its trade winds to keep it deeply breathing. It is possible that under the suggested arrangement the normal school ingredient would prove a little deadly for a while; but it is probable that the university would more than hold its own. Whatever happened, the real truth about teachers, that they are born not made, would in no way be affected. That truth will never be altered, by theory or by experiment; though it will steadily become less painful through investigations and analyses like this by the Carnegie Foundation.

"Deep Stuff"

SOMETIMES one hears the plaint that there is no more serious writing in our newspapers and magazines; the informative articles are chatty, the critical essays flippant, and the fiction cynical. The poets are minor; the prose writers are even more so, but without the grace to admit it. Hard words but false, all false, as they say in the movies. Only recently we were cast away in a railway waiting room for two hours. Having had intimation of the mischance beforehand, we fortified ourselves with a couple of popular magazines. We wanted the most popular, and as avoirdupois is the only safe test of that, we had the newsman weigh several and took the heaviest two.

No serious writing there? Almost the first article that catches our eye is entitled "The Truth That Embodies All Truth." Here is some of it:

> Humanity may be a million years old in point of time, but it is as young as this morning's sun in its pursuit of the ideal. After two thousand years of disappointment and disillusion, the eternal verities and the eternal values still prevail. . . . Even though it be surrounded and seemingly obscured by sham and pretense, nothing in this world is discovered so surely as solid merit. . . . This is the truth that embodies all truth; this is the truth that makes men free.

A whole page of it. What better "deep stuff" could one ask than that? And signed by an author of undisputed reputation: a well-known automobile company. Turning the pages, we pass essays on "Dependability" by a cement company, and "Principles" by a firm of glass-makers. Good, no doubt, but we prefer an iron company's story of

> Men who think only of the product—who send out their forgings into the world of industry as a father sends out his sons—giving them the best there is in themselves. Just men. And that is the only difference between forgings, the only difference between this tool and that, the only difference between machines. Men.

A fine rugged morality, that, and serious as Prohibition. But we go on to the point where a best-selling insurance company has an outstanding page on "The Employer Who Upbuilds the Race; the Fourth of a Series on the Story of Industrial Justice," while a little farther on a correspondence school contributes "The Glory of the Upward Path."

> Two paths begin at the bottom of the hill of life. One of them winds about the base through years of routine and drudgery. Now and then it rises over a knoll representing a little higher plane of living made possible by hard-earned progress; but its route is slow and difficult and bordered with monotony. The other mounts slowly at first, but rapidly afterwards, into positions where every problem is new and stirring, and where the rewards are comfort and travel and freedom from all fear.

No serious writing in our popular periodicals? There's nothing else in the only part of them that counts—the advertising. The authors who supply so-called reading matter as margins and tail-pieces may be flippant and cynical if they like, but not the men who in the past twenty years have converted America from a country that bought oatmeal, nails, and collars into a nation that now purchases Aerated Oat Flakes, Stick-fast Nails and Tight-ho Collars. The morality of these authors of the advertising pages is as unquestionable as that of our best copy books; their economics as sound as the Rock of Gibraltar. The American people, as Barnum said, love to be humbugged; but you must keep a straight face in doing it.

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A Yankee Verdict: Judge Anderson's Decision

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

GEORGE WESTON ANDERSON is a New Hampshire Yankee. He grew up on a hilltop farm; he taught country school to earn a college education; and thirty years in Boston have not cured him of a New Hampshire accent that makes him rhyme court with lot and pronounce have "hev." He has a Yankee capacity for using strong language without the slightest change in his facial expression. He has a trick of looking you square in the eye and talking through his teeth, occasionally lifting the upper right hand corner of his mouth to bite out an emphatic phrase. And he has a Yankee capacity for launching out of passivity into passionate indignation when he sees a raw deal.

His first public office was on the Boston School Commission. He was federal District Attorney for Massachusetts from 1914 to 1917; then Inter-State Commerce Commissioner for a year, and is now United States District Court Judge. He was a Brandeis man in Boston, and a Wilson man when he went to Washington. As District Attorney it was his duty to investigate spy plots, but he found there were more imaginative writers than spies in New England, and made it hot for some newspapers that cut free from facts. Experience led to his statement that 99 per cent of the wartime spy plots were pure fakes. And the same judicial mind which led him as public prosecutor to analyze and penetrate wartime hysteria stood him in good stead when as judge he faced the victims of the Red hysteria.

Judge Anderson has just rendered a 35,000-word opinion in the case of twenty alleged Communists, held at Deer Island for deportation, who petitioned for writs of habeas corpus. It is said to be the longest opinion ever rendered from that bench; Judge Anderson considers it rather a feat of condensation, and having read it, so do I. Although it is avowedly a statement prepared for review by a higher court (he orders release of the Communists pending such review), it is so thorough and restrained a discussion of such fundamental issues that it is certain to become an historic document. It is a reassertion of neglected American constitutional principles, and a courageous objective analysis at a time when it requires courage to be objective, especially in Boston. And moderate in tone, it is in effect a scorching indictment of lawlessness on the part of the Department of Justice, and in less degree of the Department of Labor.

He concludes that in the case of the Russians held for deportation, their so-called trials were illegal and are vitiated by lack of due process of law—that they were subjected to illegal search and seizure, and denied fair trial; that there was no evidence before the Secretary of Labor that the Communist Party is an organization advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence—and hence that all the petitioners, including the English-speaking Communists who knew enough to insist upon fair trials, are entitled to be discharged; and that even should the higher courts disagree and hold the Communist Party to be a party of force and violence, there is grave doubt whether the Communist Party documents upon which such a ruling might be based, were not given form and color by agents of the Department of Justice posing as members of those parties. He says:

"The Department of Justice has no more legal right or power to deal with the exclusion or expulsion of aliens than has the Department of the Interior. The Department of Justice prosecutes for crime. The deportation proceedings are not criminal proceedings. . . . If the Department of Justice is correct in its interpretation and application of the Statute of October 18, 1918, to the Communists, it has no occasion to usurp the legal duties of the Department of Labor concerning aliens; it has the power and the duty . . . to prosecute."

Then he reviews the history of the New England Red raids of January 2, 1920. He cites the instructions of Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice in Washington, to George E. Kelleher, his representative in Boston. They are amazing instructions. As one federal judge put it in conversation, there is no taint of lawfulness about them. They instruct the agents to search person and premises without search warrants in defiance of the federal Constitution, merely remarking that "if, due to the local conditions in your territory (sic) you find that it is absolutely necessary for you to obtain a search warrant for such premises (the residences of the members) you should communicate with the local authorities a few hours before the time for the arrests is set and request a warrant to search the premises." They instruct the agents to make every effort to secure admissions at once from the aliens arrested, although the rules of the Department of Labor, which have the force of law, then provided that the alien shall be allowed to inspect the warrant of arrest and to be represented by counsel before he is examined. They call for mass arrests, lining up those arrested in meetings against the wall and searching them on the spot, and they contemplate the arrest of American citizens, leaving the burden of proof upon the citizen to prove his citizenship. These instructions give January 2 as the tentative date for the raids, and cold-bloodedly state: "If possible, you should arrange with your under-cover informants to have meetings of the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party held on the night set. I have been informed by some of the bureau officers that such arrangements will be made. This, of course, will facilitate the making of the arrests."

He quotes the testimony about the raids: from 800 to a thousand people arrested, no one knew how many, 440 taken to Deer Island—for less than 100 of whom were warrants outstanding—the rest released for lack of evidence, the brutal methods, illegal searches, women forced to get out of bed and dress while the officers waited in the room, five women kept overnight in a single cell without a mattress, the deliberate invitation by the Department of Justice to newspaper photographers to photograph the aliens as they arrived, chained and handcuffed although not yet charged with any crime, at the Boston station, etc.

"I refrain from any extended comment, on the lawlessness of these proceedings by our supposedly law-enforcing officials," he remarks with obvious restraint. "The documents and acts speak for themselves. It may, however, fitly be observed that a mob is a mob, whether made up of government officials acting under instructions from the Department of Justice, or of criminals, loafers and the vicious classes."

The victims were taken to Deer Island. To quote:

"The conditions were unfit and chaotic. No adequate prepa-

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rations had been made to receive and care for so large a number of people. Some of the steam pipes were burst or disconnected. The place was cold, the weather severe. The cells were not properly equipped with sanitary appliances. There was no adequate number of guards or officials to take a census of and properly care for so many. For several days the arrested aliens were held practically incomunicado. . . . In the early days at Deer Island one alien committed suicide by throwing himself from the fifth floor, and dashing his brains out in the corridor below in the presence of other horrified aliens. One was committed as insane; others were driven nearly, if not quite, to the verge of insanity."

Judge Anderson draws the picture from the evidence:

"The picture of a non-English-speaking Russian peasant arrested under circumstances such as described above, held for days in jail, then for weeks in a city prison at Deer Island; and then summoned for a so-called 'trial' before an inspector, assisted by the Department of Justice agent under stringent instructions emanating from Washington to make every possible effort to obtain evidence of the alien's membership in one of the proscribed parties, is not a picture of a sober, dispassionate, due-process-of-law attempt to ascertain and report the true facts. . . . The Secretary of Labor has in these cases of necessity grounded his decisions upon records misrepresenting or omitting facts of controlling importance."

The instructions for the raid were issued December 29. On December 31 Commissioner Caminetti sent out from Washington by telegram a modification of the Department of Labor rule that an alien had the right to be represented by counsel during his entire examination so that it read "at any rate *as soon as such hearing has progressed sufficiently in the development of the facts to protect the Government's interests*, the alien shall be allowed to inspect the warrant . . . and shall be apprised that *thereafter* he may be represented by counsel." This modification was withdrawn by the Secretary of Labor on January 28, after the aliens caught in the raids had been examined without counsel. Judge Anderson quotes with approval Felix Frankfurter's argument that "if there is one thing that is established in the law of administration, I take it that it is that a rule cannot be repealed specifically to affect a case under consideration by the administrative authorities. That is, if there is an existing rule which protects certain rights, it violates every sense of decency, which is the very heart of due process, to repeal that protection, just for the purpose of accomplishing the ends of the case. . . . There was a sudden, calculated, and surreptitious deprivation of that safeguard."

A long and learned section of the opinion, liberally buttressed with legal citations, deals with the obligation of the court to review the Secretary of Labor's decision that the Communist Party is a force and violence party. The judge, following in part a recent opinion of the Supreme Court (Kwock Jan Fat vs. White, decided June 7, 1920), finds himself "constrained by the decisions to hold it the duty of the Court" to review that ruling.

He analyzes the Communist Party program, and declares that "the conclusion is irresistible that the only force worth discussion believed in or advocated by this party is the general strike." There are "some stock phrases concerning 'the necessity of revolution'" but "both religious and political crusaders commonly use the nomenclature of warfare. Here in the Occident, freedom, and a saving sense of humor and proportion have until recently saved us from being frightened by crusaders' rhetoric. In an Oriental missionary field 'Onward Christian Soldiers' is said to be regarded as an alien, seditious war song, the use of which the missionaries have had to abandon. Our hymn-books may shortly attract the eye and excite the suspicions of the official censor."

By "force" Judge Anderson does not think that Congress meant religious, moral or political force; and although "the general strike is a tremendous, almost a terrorizing force," he does not think that Congress intended to outlaw the general strike in such "inadequate and disguised fashion." "It does not accord with the historic genesis of the statute." He is "forced to the conclusion that in it (the evidence before the Secretary of Labor) there can be found no legal basis for deporting Communists on the ground that they believe in, advocate or teach the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence."

Finally, in view of the Department of Justice's instructions to its spies to provoke meetings of the Communists to facilitate arrests, and of its obvious ability to provoke such meetings from within the Communist organization, the judge casts doubt upon the nature of any inflammatory proclamations upon which prosecutions might be based. "The most that can be held," he comments, "is that it does *not* appear that the Government *did*, through its agents, give form and color to the documents upon which the Secretary has based his ruling. It is equally clear that no finding can be made that the Government did *not*, through its agents, give such form and color, and thus lay a foundation for the inference that the Secretary of Labor has drawn against these aliens because of their membership in the Communist Party."

Then the judge indulges in one of his outbursts of old-fashioned Yankee philosophy: "I cannot adopt the contention that Government spies are any more trustworthy, or less disposed to make trouble in order to profit therefrom, than are spies in private industry. Except in time of war, when a Nathan Hale may be a spy, spies are always necessarily drawn from the unwholesome and untrustworthy classes. A right-minded man refuses such a job. The evil wrought by the spy system in industry has, for decades, been incalculable. Until it is eliminated, decent human relations cannot exist between employers and employees, or even among employees. It destroys trust and confidence; it kills human kindliness; it propagates hate."

So the judge released the Communists and castigated the Communist-chasers. "Now that it appears that Government spies constituted in December, 1919, an active and efficient part of the Communist Party," he said, "it may well be that the Secretary of Labor will find it desirable, through his own forces, to institute some investigation of the nature and extent of the possible activity and influence of these spies in giving form and color to the documents upon which the Secretary of Labor based his ruling." So far the Secretary of Labor has found it desirable only to announce that he will appeal Judge Anderson's decision.

In this son of the New Hampshire hills law and order has found a new kind of defender, a man ruggedly determined that ours shall again be a government of laws not of men, a man with a capacity for indignation even in defense of the rights of men whom he does not like and with whom he does not agree. His example must hearten other judges who would like to return from domination by newspapers and brow-beating federal agents to the staid guidance of the law. When some future May writes the Constitutional History of America, in the chapter on the return to the Constitution, Judge Anderson will figure large.

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The Transport Breakdown

By GEORGE SOULE

IN a half-dozen ports along the Atlantic coast there is a nexus of transportation through which many of the necessities of life for Europe and America must pass. Goods coming from the West, the South, the North, are unloaded from freight cars, stacked on piers, trucked through the streets, loaded on lighters, towed by tugs, reloaded into coastwise and Atlantic steamships. Goods coming from Europe go back through the same channels. Any blockade in one part of this system slows the circulation through all the other parts. It is difficult enough to keep the channels cleared and transport flowing under normal conditions. Abnormal stoppages cause a thousand unforeseen maladjustments resulting in incalculable economic loss, with scarcities and rising prices which reverberate through the whole productive and distributive system.

A statement given out by the New York Merchants' Association deals with recent interruptions on the coastwise lines alone. Since January 1, 1918, there have been sixteen strikes in Atlantic ports. During 1918 the coastwise lines were immobile 14 per cent of the time, during 1919, 15 per cent of the time, so far in 1920, 64 per cent of the total working days. The stoppages this year have tied up 47 seagoing vessels, and 203 tugs, lighters, and barges, with cargoes totaling about 150,000 tons, valued at approximately $300,000,000. This is merely a small index of the losses to dependent businesses and the dependent consumer.

What causes the stoppages? The present strike of the coastwise longshoremen is a fair example. Sixty-five cents an hour is not enough to support a workman and his family, even if he has no unemployment and buys nothing more than the bare necessities of life. The bare subsistence budget calculated in New York by Professor Chapin in 1907, if brought down to date by applying the index numbers of the National Industrial Conference Board, a great association of employers, is $2,080. Eight times sixty-five makes $5.20 for a normal working day. Multiply that by 306, the full number of working days in the year, and you get $1,591.20. It is true that longshoremen sometimes work overtime, but it is also true that they do not work the full normal time the year round. Acting on their practical experience of this economic fact, coastwise longshoremen have now for some weeks been refusing to work for less than eighty cents an hour, which is paid for the same kind of work, in the same ports, on the deep-sea piers. They have not received eighty cents largely because, in the judgment of the Shipping Board's National Adjustment Commission, the coastwise steamship lines at present cannot pay it and make a profit. If the lines do not make a profit they will go out of business. The longshoremen use similar logic. Not earning a living, they have gone out of business. Neither their international president, nor the Governor of the State of New York, nor anyone else, can pry them loose from this simple conclusion.

The teamsters, being loyal union men, refuse to haul goods unloaded by strike-breaking longshoremen. Anyone who takes the place of a striker either receives more than the regular employees or else receives less than it costs a responsible citizen to live. This bit of logic cannot be dislodged from the minds of the teamsters. Besides, they may ask more for themselves some day, and then they will want the longshoremen to be true to them. The special situation caused by the government control of rates on the coastwise lines suggested, to some of the more reasonable employers, a special solution for this case. If only the men would resume their work, united pressure would be brought to bear for an increase in rates. But the men are waiting to be shown. And the majority of the merchants rightly concluded that such action, even if successful, would be a mere temporizing with the general issue. Something more drastic is necessary.

They remember the succession of previous strikes, some of them in violation of long-term agreements. The deep-sea longshoremen defied both their own leaders and the adjustment commission for months, justifying themselves by reference to the disproportionate increase in the cost of living. The Marine Workers' Affiliation, after a strike for the eight-hour day and negotiations of baffling complexity, refused to accept an award by the National War Labor Board, whose jurisdiction had previously been denied by the employers. The Marine Workers' Affiliation has recently engaged in another strike in support of workers on the Erie tugs, which were sold in order that the eight-hour law for railroads might be evaded—at least so the strikers contended. The clerks on the Fall River line struck for a continuation of collective bargaining, granted during the war. Altogether, the loss and confusion has proved too much for the patience of many of the merchants, and they have decided to smash their way through.

The action which they are taking is a frontal attack upon the unions, a fight disguised by the phrase "open shop." What it amounts to is a war for the right to employ strike-breakers. The merchants are raising a $5,000,000 fund, and have organized an independent trucking company under the command of an ex-army expert in transportation. He is enlisting non-union teamsters and ex-soldiers, under a plea of "patriotism," to haul the freight. It is threatened that the same methods will be extended, if necessary, against all the unions of transport workers. When workmen on the deep-sea piers threatened to strike rather than to handle goods brought by non-union teamsters, some of the steamship companies refused to receive the freight. As common carriers, however, they violated the law in doing so, and the courts have enjoined the practice.

A general engagement is predicted by both sides. If it comes, it will be more costly to the unions, the merchants, the railroads and steamships, and the consumers, than anything which has happened before. The employers may win —for a time. Yet they will do well to remember that New York employers have been fighting for the "open shop" ever since the shoemakers took the issue into the courts in 1810. It is hazardous indeed to assume, in June, 1920, that trade-unions can be destroyed. If the merchants do win, nevertheless, they will have proved that modern society cannot think of any way of transporting its goods without paying workmen less than it costs to live. A rather dangerous demonstration, while Lenin is still alive.

If we believe that there must be a better way out, it is safe to make two fundamental assumptions: first that the trans-

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port workers must have decent wages and conditions, and second that organizations of labor will persist and must be dealt with. To these we may add a guess: that the tangle is probably as much in need of organization as of blind battle. Much of the confusion has been caused by the fact that both unions and employers have been acting individually rather than in unison. I took these assumptions and this guess to a labor official who knows the problem through experience. He agreed with them, and proceeded to fill in the outline. His name is Jerome De Hunt, and he is president of the New York Harbor District Council of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks—which includes not only the persons whom we ordinarily think of as clerks, but railway foremen, freight handlers, and express and station employees. Mr. De Hunt is also president of the local organization of the Plumb Plan League, which proves that he is not wholly a conservative in union matters, and that he has ideas. From him much of what follows is derived.

Twenty-four separate unions, all told, have a hand in transportation. For the most part, they act in small groups. Many of them have been engaged in the recent strikes. One by one, they have stopped the flow of goods; one by one, they have failed to procure anything like complete satisfaction. They have inconvenienced the public almost as much as if they had all been striking for the full period. Now the teamsters are carrying on a sympathetic boycott for the longshoremen, though they have no demands of their own. Next month, the longshoremen may be back at work, and the teamsters may be striking for an increase and asking the longshoremen to reciprocate. This is a clear waste of energy. It is like sending an army over the top one man at a time to be shot down in a futile attempt to capture a nest of machine guns. And it is extremely damaging to the public.

Another cause of confusion is the separation of employers for anything except fighting purposes. Different wages are paid for the same kind of work at different places. The present situation of the longshoremen is a case in point. There is no uniform practice about hours, none about collective bargaining. These inequalities stir up discontent and foster the round of stoppages.

The 110,000 transport workers about the port of New York might be organized for joint action. They might have an Executive Council, composed of delegates from all the crafts, with power to draw up all the demands at once, to standardize the rates and hours for the different operations, and to present the whole scale as a unit to the employers. The locals would have to give up independent action, and delegate control to the Council. Then there would be more chance of any one group securing, through negotiation, what it should have. The interests of all would be pooled. Either nobody would stop, or all would stop at once. The public would be saved immense inconvenience.

The corresponding employers' association would contain the Railroad Executives, the Steamship Executives, the American Railway Express, the Merchants' Association, and would have to retain the support of the Board of Trade and Transportation, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, and the Chambers of Commerce of Brooklyn, Bronx, and Queens. It is a combination of the six latter bodies which is now declaring war on the unions.

When these two bodies had been thus organized, it would be possible to establish "impartial machinery" to negotiate on the larger issues, and investigate and adjust the minor ones. An industrial constitution could be created, so that the basis of negotiations would be clear. No strike could occur by accident. The issues would be defined, and everybody could know what they were. Each side would be in a position to exercise effective discipline within its own group, to prevent violations of understandings arrived at upon the basis of adequate study and thorough consideration. Now any small group may begin a strike or lockout, and then call for sympathetic action by the others. With industrial action under a constitution, everyone would have to be consulted before a strike was called or a lockout declared. If an ill-advised and unauthorized strike or lockout did occur, the other groups would isolate it rather than act in sympathy. It might be possible to avoid any stoppage for long periods.

What is the chance of bringing about such a grouping on the side of the unions? At the moment, not very bright. Each local votes on its own strikes. And in virtually all of the twenty-four international unions, such votes must be authorized by the international officials. The teamsters and longshoremen have recently taken the reins in their own hands, but the legal restriction still remains, so that the high officers could attempt to block joint action at any moment if they wished to do so. The chances are that they would do so, since most of them are "conservatives" and wish to maintain "craft autonomy"—a symbol for their own power. If the rank and file took the matter to the floors of their respective national conventions, they might secure "local autonomy," and then they might delegate their authority to local executive councils. But the rank and file is not educated to the proposal, and about half of the local officials also would interpose vetoes. There is more in the present chaos for them, they seem to think, than in real joint action.

If, however, a local council could be created in this way, it would not work as well as it should. It would have dispensed with the craft differences, but it would have retained sectional differences. Transportation is really a national matter. Ports compete with each other. A general transport agreement in New York might be unsuccessful if Philadelphia and Boston were on a different basis. I asked Mr. De Hunt what would obviate that difficulty. He smiled. "One transport union. But, of course, that sounds like I. W. W. propaganda. It would be hard to put across, because of the 'conservative' officials and the hysteria of the employers. Nevertheless, transportation will be disorganized until we have it. There must be a national central body, with power and effective organization, over all the transport workers. There must be local bodies, with authority delegated from all the local crafts. Then we can begin to get somewhere."

The mere existence of an industrially organized Transport Workers' Union would not, of course, automatically brush aside the fundamental economic maladjustments which result from the present financing and management of the railroads, nor would it do away with the waste that arises from lack of proper system in terminals and routes. It would, however, gradually eliminate minor troubles and focus attention on the main issues. The attitude of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers toward beneficial reconstruction of an industry is merely an instance of the result which naturally arises from a proper organization of the workers. The first necessity is a union which is powerful enough to overcome petty grievances and direct its efforts to the larger issues, issues which are of as much importance to the whole people as to any small body of workers.

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The Little Tea Room at Gimbel's

By STELLA CROSSLEY DALJORD

"Just a *little* space to tell you the *big* news that the Little Tea Room is again in its creton-ny summer dress. And still specializes in delicious edibles with a true home flavor!"

THE charming little place so advertised is in the department store owned by the brothers Gimbel, just indicted for profiteering on some 207 different counts. They are victims, of course, themselves—the victims of the silk-stockinged, bejeweled, limousine-riding working girls. Perhaps if Gimbel's employees had not been labor profiteers, the gentlemen now out on bail would not have been forced to retaliate on the public.

As a member of that long-suffering body I had often shopped in Gimbel's, but when I applied for a job as waitress and was being initiated as one of the "help" it was an entirely different place. That other world of respectable shoppers seemed leagues away from our world of work. It was like being shown for the first time, in a house where you had grown up, to a secret room that you had not known existed.

"Yes, we do need waitresses," said Miss M———, whom I learned later to dub the "Ogre," head of the restaurant department. "Have you had any experience in waiting?" When I told her of a brief experience in a summer hotel she said: "You may come right in and begin."

"What are the wages?" I asked.

"Six dollars per week and your lunch (This was in 1919) and then you get some tips."

"Oh, I had hoped it would be more than that," said I, disappointed.

"Well, you're a nice looking girl"—eying my clothes sharply, "so I'll make you a captain at twelve dollars a week. You just seat the people, give them the menu card, and so on. Then the captains are considered better than the waitresses—they get better food for their lunch and sit at a different table." I learned later that it was considered good policy to emphasize class distinctions at Gimbel's—"kept 'em from getting too close and talking union."

After a day's work I found that the Ogre's "and so on" meant standing on one's feet from eight in the morning till six at night, nagging the other girls to do well nigh impossible tasks, filling heavy water pitchers, and serving many meals myself during the rush hour, all for the large sum of twelve dollars per week. Captains do not get tips.

The Ogre sharply called another girl to take me to the employment office to be signed up.

"Look out;" whispered my guide, "don't let the old devil (meaning the Ogre) see us ride in this elevator."

"Why not?" said I, in bewilderment. "How could we get from the ninth to the third floor if we didn't?"

"Oh, these are just for the customers. The Helps' elevators are 'way around the block."

I was soon initiated into an understanding of the vast abyss that exists between the two sets of human beings that come into close contact in the department store, the "help" and the customers. Both are seemingly human with the same sort of human reactions, but the psychology developed in the managers is that customers are regal persons to be bowed and scraped to; their every whim should be gratified and the greatest deference shown them, while the clerks who wait on them are of a very inferior order, to be barked and snapped at. It would be horrifying to serve stale or tainted food to a guest, and if any such accident happened we must apologize profusely; but in our dirty dining-room near the roof we were regularly served stale and tainted left-over food; and if any of us had the courage to complain we ran grave risk of being discharged. The secret of this difference was demonstrated by the reply one of the managers gave a group of clerks who went to him to ask for an increase in wages. "If you can't live on ten dollars a week it's no concern of mine," said Mr. ———. "We are in this business solely to make money and if I should pay you more than other department stores do, my crowd would say I was scabbing on them."

Later, all those who had asked for this raise were discharged as "unsatisfactory"—they might stir up discontent. After three seemingly endless days as captain, I asked the Ogre to change me to plain waitress. She immediately began to bully me. Her chief idea of intelligent management of the girls under her was to bully, curse, and constantly frighten them.

"Oh, you think because you've got a little education (the Ogre had none, always boasting that she had grown into her present job from cash girl and that she had worked in this store ever since it was opened ten years before) that you're better than other folks, but we'll take that out of you—you go on about your d—— business just as I told you to do—I've got more important business than to be bothered by a d—— little s—— like you!"

Experience had taught me that the best way to deal with a bully is to bully in return. "Well, Miss M——," I said, "you can do just as you please, either give me an apron and let me be a waitress (I knew they were short of waitresses) or I'll quit."

Her dignity would not allow her to give me any answer except profanity, but in five minutes her stenographer hurried over to me with an apron and told me to start in as waitress. From that day my real life as "help" began. Heretofore as captain I had been just an onlooker. The girls had been suspicious of me and had talked little, as a captain is supposed to be "in with the boss," a sort of go-between and tattletale, and therefore not to be trusted. Now that I had descended from my position of slight authority I was immediately one of them. In two days I was on movie-attendance intimacy with a number of them, and on visiting terms with several. Our day began in the morning when we entered at the "Helps Entrance" and had our time cards punched, and then rode up in the "Helps Elevator." The rules about this were very strict. Any employee caught riding up in regular elevators was immediately discharged. At night when our cards were punched again we were examined for any article that we might have stolen. I suppose where the wages are close to starvation, as they were at Gimbel's, there is always greater danger of theft. In the locker-rooms we hustled into our uniforms and chatted meanwhile. We were all ages and nationalities—a cosmopolitan crowd. Then the rush of the day began.

There were three huge dining rooms, two of them the length of the whole department store from the kitchen. This

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meant that we lugged heavy trays loaded with food and heavy silver service for miles and miles all day long. As a result many of the girls suffered from weaknesses that would prove serious if they became mothers later on. I often wondered why the kitchen could not have been in the center and the silver service near by. When I asked the Ogre about this one day, after an astonishing look and a volley of curses at my presumption, she answered: "This place ain't run on no philanthropy basis for you'se that works here! (Her better English always fell away from her when she got excited.) This here place is run fer the long green—a h—— of a lot we care if your backs *do* ache!"

During the rush hour the kitchen was a veritable little Hades of noise, heat, and excitement.

"Firings" usually took place at the rush hour when everything was at high tension. She fired me one day for not wearing an apron, though I had tried my best to get one from her earlier in the day. But I was reinstated because she had a wholesome awe of an "educated" person with "lip."

"All right, Miss M——," said I, "but I'm going straight to Mr. B—— (the manager), and tell him the whole thing, and I'll also get up on a chair in this dining-room and tell the guests all about it and your tactics."

The bully succumbed to her own weapons, as I had hoped.

There was an all-pervading atmosphere of furtiveness about the girls that puzzled and irritated me at first. But later I understood. They were furtive because the only way to get your work done was to avoid the all-seeing eye of the Ogre and disobey her senseless rules, and the only way to get decent food was to steal it.

The food served the guests was very good and we became hungry handling the dainty and tempting morsels, but we were not allowed to touch any of them. The stale leftovers slopped out to us in the dirty dining-room on the top floor was the food reserved for us. The result was that the girls were always stealing food and eating it surreptitiously behind the Ogre's back to the detriment of their digestion, nerves, and general frankness.

After I had been a waitress for several days I marveled that so many strong young women chose to do such hard work for so little pay. But in conversation in the lockers and over our dirty lunch tables I found out. We ate our lunches for a chance to talk and rest, rather than for the food we nibbled at. There was an all-pervading air of staleness and dirt in that stifling dining-room next the roof—an air of "this is good enough for such as you." The tables were dirty, the silver not clean, and the smell of rancid butter and tainted meats took away whatever appetite we might have left. I learned that most of the girls worked there because, though we crowded the work of ten hours into four or five so that we were too tired to eat or rest when we got through, the short hours enabled them to do other work outside. Wives worked there to eke out their husband's insufficient pay and widows with children, whom they usually had to lock in while they came to work. I remember one poor widow sobbing her heart out at lunch one day because her pay envelope held three dollars instead of the usual six. Her hand, through no fault of her own, had been scalded in the kitchen several days before, and she had been forced to lay off for three days; but the relentless bookkeeping at Gimbel's made no allowance for this.

Another day at lunch a beautiful young French girl with the bloom of the country still on her red cheeks and blue black hair, who sat next me at table, suddenly began heaping a torrent of uncalled abuse on all of us. Afterwards she came to us sobbing: "I know I'm ugly-tempered, but the room where I sleep with another girl has no sunshine, and God knows I can't stand it much longer; but I've looked and looked for a place where I can be alone. It's hell never to be alone in all the twenty-four hours! but I can't find one I can afford with the money I earn here. With the tips and all it only amounts to ten dollars a week."

One girl was crying because her baby had died the week before. "I know you feel bad now," said a widow, "but in a couple of years you'll be glad of it—poor girls like us can't afford to have children and bring 'em up decent."

Another girl cried in the stuffy locker-room one night and refused to go home because all of her one week's pay envelope and half of the next had been withheld her because some customer, in the hurry of the rush hour, had short changed her. "I can't go home—I'm the only one that's working because mother's sick, and God knows what we'll live on this week!"

Most of the girls lead this hand-to-mouth existence where the loss of one week's pay was a real tragedy. And over the lunch table we learned to know the girls who eked out their tiny wages by occasional prostitution. One such girl, who was good to look at and as generous-hearted as could be, said to the little French girl one day: "Take it from me, it's better to be free and easy as I am than never to have any joy in life, like you. I work in a cafe at night. The tips are big, and then I pick up money on the side. I hate drunks, but what can you do?"

There was some talk of union in the store at lunch time, but such horrible examples had been made of the braver spirits who had dared to agitate for it that most of the girls were afraid. Some reactions to this talk of organization were both humorous and romantic. Said a young Irish girl with an engaging smile: "Sure and I believe in the union, but if I join and we get better wages, my husband, who's lazy, but workin' now, will sthop workin' entoirly."

There was a young Greek fellow who had worked in Gimbel's for six years at six dollars per week. His answer to the union invitation was to whip the photo of a young girl out of his pocket and say with a beautiful and pathetic smile: "Me homesick for home and wife. Me no join union or anything—me go back to my own country next week. America not like they tell me—me only starve all the time here."

The waitresses had to be young and strong, but the women who worked in the kitchen were middle aged or old, women who should have been at the leisure time of life. The thought of one's own mother or grandmother in such a position was unbearable, but here was somebody's mother or grandmother picking chicken bones amid slops or washing dishes at breakneck speed on through a long day of intolerable heat. And all for a sum so tiny that it meant but a poor bed to sleep in and poor food after the day was over.

"I can do my stent of dishes with the best of them," quavered an old lady of seventy, obviously in need of food, begging the Ogre for a job one morning.

"Aw, run along! What can an old hag like you do?" was the answer.

The policy at Gimbels' was "The guests are always right,"

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so no matter what abuse they heaped upon us for being slow or for poorly cooked food, troubles for which we were not as a rule responsible, we were supposed to take it all humbly. Also, we were expected to be especially servile to the bosses of the store who ate in the restaurant. I threw the kitchen into a panic one day by refusing to hustle any more for Mr. Gimbel than anyone else, insisting that lamb chops would cook no more quickly for him than for an ordinary mortal, though he considered himself a semi-god. It was the fear of losing their jobs, wretched and pitiful as they were at the best, that made the workers at Gimbels' wear the hunted, pinched and submissive look that was their chief characteristic. For a poor job is better than none when you have never been able to save enough to keep a thin wall between yourself and starvation.

In the Driftway

HE who runs may read in the headlines that retail prices are down to stay; or that there is to be an average increase of 30 per cent in clothing next fall; or that cucumbers sell for one cent in the wholesale markets and ten cents in the retail stores—no mean profit one might note in passing. And according to the faith that is in him, one may thank his stars or curse fate and the ever-greedy profiteer; but the result is about the same. The miserable fifty-cent dollar continues to shrink; the country continues to go to rack and ruin with never a friendly hand to stop it. The case at first sight seems entirely hopeless. But the Drifter with his usual perspicacity has found a remedy. After three magnificent days among the Connecticut hills he faces a tottering world without a quiver. He has found peace and plenty; good brown dirt and an excellent variety of blue sky, not to mention numerous desirable things in the way of daisies, white birches, and milk. And in that seventy-two hours not one subway train; not a single crowd; no buildings higher than two-and-a-half stories; merely space—the most precious commodity in the world, entirely unpurchasable in cities. Let men cavil and carp, let prices rise, let Mr. Harding be elected, let blight and pestilence overtake the greatest city in the world. With a calm heart the Drifter will take the next train north and never once look behind him.

* * * * *

THE Drifter might think less frequently about the cost of living if he were not a creature who roved so constantly through times and spaces and noted so many contrasts. But the adventures of one day have stung him into thought about the matter and into speech. In the morning the Drifter came across this passage in an old letter written from the Berkshires seventy years ago: "We give only three cents a quart for the best of milk. . . . Butter is fourteen cents a pound, and eggs eleven and twelve cents a dozen; potatoes, very good ones, two shillings a bushel. The most superb buckwheat at half the price we gave at the East—sixty-two cents for twenty-four pounds; wood, three and four dollars a cord; charcoal, eight cents a bushel; veal, six cents a pound; mutton, five cents; beef, nine cents." And in the afternoon the Drifter dropped into a village store. There was no one in attendance, but from the little office at the rear of the store came the voices of the proprietor and a traveling salesman. "If I buy these shoes," said the proprietor, "I shall have to charge eight dollars a pair." "And if that's all you charge," answered the helpful bagman, "you'll be a fool. Those shoes are bringing twelve dollars all over the country. This is the time to make a profit while the making is good." Did the proprietor protest? He did not. And three days later the Drifter found that the shoes were on sale for twelve dollars. Who has calculated what the bagman contributes to the economic problem?

* * * * *

AS the Drifter hurried down the muddy road he saw fireflies ahead of him splashing the new darkness. And then suddenly the scene widened. On his left a broad meadow rolled away up the mountain; on his right lay a broader region of marshy ground sacred to flags and frogs. The Drifter knew that over all that green meadow buttercups were contending with daisies which should make it white or yellow, but now it was black with the night though somehow brightened by the gleaming mist. In the swamp, too, the Drifter knew there would soon be irises blooming, though now it had nothing but the paler irridescence of the quiet drizzle. And yet the night was alive with an uncanny and unaccustomed splendor. The fireflies were holding some sort of carnival, it seemed, moving up and down the meadow slope in glimmering processions and swarming thickly over the marsh which they almost illuminated with their fitful and inclusive flashes. There must have been thousands of them, for the usual intervals of darkness never came, and every instant was spangled. But the marvel of the occasion was not the number of lights but the magnitude of them. By some trick of the mist, some reflection from the particles of water suspended in the air, every firefly shone not as a vivid speck but as a slow, large, bland splotch of mellow light. Over the swamp they were so crowded and cast so many reflections upon the water and wet earth and dripping flags that they had created the perfect semblance of a lake on which numberless canoes rode softly with dancing lanterns. Up the mountain meadow they seemed, and doubtless were, less numerous, but the wonder continued, for they glowed here and there on the rising hillside like searchers beating through the grass for something lost. And, most exquisite of all, now and then on the high ridge of the hill behind the meadow a lantern would flash and move down into the carnival or up out of it. This hollow of the hills was a cup of light, filled to the brim, which now and then spilled over only to be replenished.

THE DRIFTER

Reported Missing

By DAVID MORTON

Where are those slender ships, gone lightly by—
  They that had seemed as sisters to the sun?
In what last ports of darkness would they lie,
  Content to know their sailing days were done?
I cannot think those shining spars would be
  Less lovely or less eager, now, at last,
Than on white mornings by the crowded quay,
  I watched them one by one blown softly past.

Name me no Dark where sails hang split and torn,
  No lightless cavern closed on ruined ships,
Forgetful of the splendor they had worn,—
  Lest I should tell you where a specter slips
Through waters creaming at her ghostly prow,
  Lifted and light and lovely, even now.

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Correspondence

George Louis Beer

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Some weeks ago the untimely death of Mr. George Louis Beer took out of the intellectual life of the United States a type of mind we could ill afford to lose at this time—a mind graced by rare scholarship, prompted by the instinct of statesmanship, and dedicated to the constructive interpretation of America's international relations and responsibilities, particularly respecting the rest of the English-speaking world.

Mr. Beer was neither the typical academic historian nor the typical politician; but his grasp of history saved him from the temptations of jingoism, opportunism, and narrow nationalism. Mr. Beer served as Colonial expert for the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris. Among the innumerable technical delegates at Paris Mr. Beer won an influence and standing that was unique by virtue of his profound grasp of the history and the economic problems involved in the Colonial adjustment. He was so plainly master of the tangled facts of the colonial problem that it was a foregone conclusion that Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, would, as he did, ask Mr. Beer to take charge of that most difficult section of the League—the Mandate Section. America's abstention from the League prevented Mr. Beer's acceptance of this post.

Mr. Beer was in no sense a radical, but he was endowed with a sense of political and economic realities and animated by an intuitive appreciation of the just and the workable that fitted him, as few men are fitted, for the higher politics. His historical writings won the highest approval of such critics as Lecky. He was for a time prize lecturer in European history at Columbia University, but he spent ten years in active business, thereafter devoting himself to writing. Since 1903 he spent much time in research and produced, in four volumes, the history of the British colonial system from 1578 to 1765. These four volumes were awarded in 1913 the first Loubat Prize as the best work published in the English language during the preceding five years on the history, geography, or archaeology of America. Had he lived he would soon have carried these studies down into the 19th century.

During the war he regularly contributed to the *Round Table* a survey of American politics that was always marked by a broad grasp of facts and a refreshing sanity of interpretation. In 1917 he published his "The English-speaking Peoples: Their Relations and Joint International Obligations." This volume was a well-documented and closely reasoned examination of the possibilities of cooperation between England and the United States. In our young and business-obsessed Republic we produce too few men like George Louis Beer, men of sound scholarship with an abiding sense of public responsibility. I could not resist offering this tribute to a friendship I value, to a man whose death is a distinct loss to the higher political life of our country.

New York, June 4 GLENN FRANK

More About Academic Freedom

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In academic circles the conviction is almost universal that a college professor should not affiliate with a radical party such as the Socialist, because of the effect it would have on his teaching. Even those who concede him the right to become a member of the Socialist Party, for instance, are in the main against the right of the professor or instructor to become an aggressive force in his organization, even if he never breathed a word of his conviction while in class. Among the arguments advanced in furtherance of this view are two: first, that the reaction of the student's mind would be that of distrusting the instructor's teaching because of the belief that it is partisan agitation, and second, that an institution is after all dependent on the rich for its endowment, and the reputation for radicalism in the teaching staff is likely to impoverish it through the estrangement of its financial supporters. With respect to the latter view, the point is made that in the general run of things, thorough teaching will be advanced more effectively by adequate salaries and equipment than by the freedom of a few to be over-active in politics.

With reference to the first argument, Mr. Butler has offered as extreme an exhibition of partisanship as we may ever hope to see. To begin with, the president of Columbia University, the largest institution in America, has been a narrow Republican reactionary for many years. At least as many students have discounted his addresses because of this far-famed bias as have ever resented the utterances of a professor of opposite tendencies. Then, to cap the climax, President Butler has recently seen fit to call the backers of the leading popular candidate for nomination "a motley group of stock gamblers, oil and mining promoters, munition makers and other like persons." In violent language he made a blanket statement concerning all those who backed General Wood's candidacy, although any reasonable man must have known that many sincere people were in the same camp with the vicious interests which caused Mr. Butler to become so exasperated. The statement may or may not have been justifiable (probably it was), and there has been a retraction which retracted nothing but merely shed further light on Mr. Butler. In any event, the damage to Columbia is irreparable. It has won it no friends and made many present or potential supporters indignant.

The question many a docile college victim is asking himself is whether the President will receive the same rebuke that radical professors suffer. If it is the duty of a university officer to regulate his private life always with an eye to the possible reaction of the students to his teaching and the possible disapproval of influential distributors of endowments, why should not the rule apply to all? The answer that universities make by their failure to chastise the actions of narrow partisans of the existing parties while suppressing those with radical leanings is the key to their real attitude on academic freedom. The only thing that matters is the existent order. It must be maintained.

New York, June 22 H. F.

Consolation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Let us be prepared to console ourselves, in case Harding should be elected, that his administration will yield one benefit. In his hands the power of the Presidency will be broken down. From Lincoln's day to Cleveland's the office was occupied mostly by pleasant gentlemen. Cleveland undertook initiative, and struggled with hostile Congresses. McKinley followed with more initiative, and with friendly Congresses. Then Roosevelt, in his seven vigorous years, arrogated to the Presidency a power none before him had dreamed of. If Roosevelt was a Czar, Wilson is a Sultan. Between them, they have made the office the most powerful, the most dangerous, in Christendom. So, even though it be not worth the price we pay, let us be prepared to rejoice that some of the might of the Presidency will be wrenched from Harding's hands. We might, as optimists, have found some consolation even in Leonard Wood's election. It would have proved what our school boys have been taught since 1785—that *any* man can be President of the United States.

Newton, Massachusetts, June 22 PRESCOTT WARREN

The Conquest of Haiti
A striking exposé
By Herbert J. Seligmann
in next week's issue of *The Nation*

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Books

Psychology of the Day

Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist. By John B. Watson. J. B. Lippincott Company.
Human Psychology. By Howard C. Warren. Houghton Mifflin Company.
General Psychology. By Walter S. Hunter. University of Chicago Press.
Educational Psychology. By Daniel Starch. The Macmillan Company.
Employment Psychology. By Henry C. Link. The Macmillan Company.
The New Science of Analyzing Character. By Harry H. Balkin. Four Seas Company.
An Outline of Abnormal Psychology. By James Winfred Bridges. R. G. Adams and Company.

THE "objective" psychologists have of late been variously and profitably busy; they have pushed far beyond the original territory of what was invidiously termed physiological psychology in the days when people were seriously concerned about the fate of a psychology without a soul. The most characteristic expansion relates to the processes accompanying emotion, and particularly their dependence upon the intimate and intricate functions of the glands and the autonomic (the sympathetic) nervous system. The result is a far more adequate conception of nervous function and its mechanisms than existed before. Inspired by these examples, the behaviorist has come forward to claim that all psychology is of the same texture and is to be conquered by similar methods. The earlier comparative psychologists were bent upon tracing the counterparts of human mental processes in animal life, and unquestionably made a muddle of the problem. The behaviorist rectified the older errors, and turned the tables by studying man as a human kind of animal.

Hence the interest in observing the behavior of a behaviorist when he attacks psychology as a whole, as he insists upon attacking conduct as a whole. Professor Watson is the venturesome pioneer; no more representative exponent could be selected for the challenge. He wishes it understood that "behaviorism" is "purely an American production"; though it utilizes the findings of a group of Russian physiologists, it has had no further indebtedness in developing its position that the psychologist is an objective student of stimuli and responses. As such he has no more use for "consciousness" or, for that matter, for "sensation, perception, attention, will, image, and the like" than a student of a white rat. They are as unnecessary in teaching psychology as in research. Psychology is bent upon the "ascertaining of such data and laws that, given the stimulus, psychology can predict what the result will be; or, on the other hand, given the response, it can specify the nature of the effective stimulus." In the beginning was behavior, and there is naught but behavior.

According to this program—here maintained with the tenacity of a dogma—certain problems are treated with a fullness that reflects at once the author's interest and (we may assume) their due place in a true up-to-date psychology: the sense-organs, the nervous system, the beginnings of instinctive and emotional reactions in infants, and a variety of matters of practical importance in the kind of conduct expected of the twentieth-century human animal, both in the laboratory and in the less well regulated world outside. For a concise survey of these provinces in the kingdom of psychology of the year 1920, the book will serve. But how the student is to obtain from the total text anything but a confused notion of psychology or its place in the world of thought is by no means clear.

Mr. Watson's *pièce de résistance* is the "conditioned reflex," in itself a valuable contribution. It has been shown both in animals and in men that an artificial stimulus, such as the ringing of a bell, having been associated with the proper stimulus for a reflex muscular contraction or for the secretion of a gland, will of itself after due process of training induce the response. This by-product is elevated to the dignity of one of the great methods of behaviorism; it is placed side by side with "verbal report"—which is the behaviorist's paraphrase for introspection. Consequently in the human repertory we have explicit and implicit habit responses, both hereditary and acquired; thinking, which is subvocal talking, is such an implicit habit. Mr. Watson illustrates: "We can see the functioning of language habits only slightly in certain activities, as, for example, in swimming, tapping on the table with a pencil, while in certain other types they form an integral part and seem to be as important as arm and hand movement, for example, in typewriting, sending, and receiving telegraphic messages. Finally in certain other functions activity seems to drop out almost entirely as, for example, in subvocal arithmetic. There the explicit factors show only as excess movements such as wrinkling the brow, closing the eyes, and rubbing the forehead, until the final link in the chain is reached, and answer is written down with the hand. This type of implicit (largely word) adjustment culminates in thinking, where an individual may sit for hours with practically no overt movement, finally announcing, 'I have decided to give up university work and enter commercial life!'"

By consistently disregarding all the essential steps in "thinking" in which most psychologists (and the world at large) are interested, and by cavalierly treating the problems in which the behaviorist happens not to be interested, he produces a "psychology" which is as true as the railway maps of any one company showing only the towns on its line, with its own route straight and prominent, and rival systems indicated if at all by lightly drawn and circuitous detours.

Of very different tenor and temper is the work of Professor Warren. He is no less concerned than his colleague with the basic importance of objective psychology and the necessity of a solid groundwork in nervous structure and function—all as the foundation for the study of behavior. Psychology is defined as the study of the reaction of an organism to its environment; and for more than the first third of the book the student is not permitted to get even a sniff of consciousness. He is given a straightforward dose of structure, sense-organ, nervous system, reflexes, instincts, and total behavior. Mr. Warren's text reflects as well as Mr. Watson's the central emphasis assumed in recent investigation by the study of the animal reaction, the close intimacy with physiological research, the constant recourse to the laboratory experiment as the guiding clue and final arbiter of analysis and research. The two men belong to the same typical movement of the psychology of the day; but Mr. Warren understands his pedagogical obligations differently; and he barely mentions the conditioned reflex.

Professor Hunter believes in a general survey of psychology for his readers—like sixty days in Europe personally conducted—with a few chapters upon some of the basal phenomena which make the tour worth the taking. In point of view he is eclectic, "a combination of behaviorism and structuralism." In his itinerary he starts the student in the biological laboratory, shows him some examples of animal behavior, takes him next to the nursery or the primary school where children are tested by the Binet-Simon scale, stopping en route at an employment agency to inspect similar procedures applied to the adult, then to institutes for the feeble-minded and the insane with an excursion into Freudianism, then into the larger world of social relations and racial differences, before considering the adult human psychology which the student himself is supposed to incorporate. Here in turn he begins higher up and works down to the sense-organ and the nervous structure, closing on the initial theme of thinking—all in tersest measure. If a teacher of chemistry or physics adopted this method, he would be promptly outlawed by his profession. However, one man's pedagogy is another man's irritation.

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While college texts serve to mark the pedagogical perspective of the profession (and have been used to correct the deplorable financial perspective), they represent, especially in a rapidly shifting and sensitive domain like psychology, the mature emphasis of those interpreting a specialty for their colleagues as well as for students. In this aspect Mr. Watson's book is distinctly stimulating and unquestionably notable. He possesses firmness of grasp and capacity for analysis. Such works mark stages in actual progress, instead of beating time with improved tempo and more elaborate and timely settings. But upon the question whether such purpose can be combined with the instructional aim, and combined in the Watsonian manner, serious doubt remains. By contrast the serious defect of Mr. Warren's text is its too didactic tone, its over-emphasis of verbal arrangement and distinction, its more than occasional wandering away from the sense of psychological realities; all of which make the text not only less teachable but a needless temptation to bad mental habits already sufficiently prevalent. The distribution of its points of innovation is not always happy; and the structural sense of the whole suffers. Such defects make a book unpopular; on the contrary, the defects of Mr. Hunter's accommodating perspective offers too ready an appeal to those willing to forego the discipline of serious mental effort.

Just what should and what should not be included in an "Educational Psychology" is less a matter of deduction from principle than a reflection of interest. Professor Starch is quite within his rights in following the trend of current interest. That the problems of the teacher are not the same in content or complexion as the problems of the educational psychologist is strangely overlooked. We have in this volume an orderly compendium of materials for the study of a large range of psychological processes. It is a treatise upon psychological building materials and the methods of testing them, when many a student and many a reader will expect and desire and need a guide to mental composition and the reasons why minds are and should be so built.

While Mr. Starch's work bears the hall-mark of the laboratory and the school-room, that of Mr. Link has the trade-mark of the busy world outside. It is fortunate that a pioneer treatise on "Employment Psychology" should be keenly aware of the limitations of the project which he presents. Mr. Link realizes that if too ambitious a program is set, disrepute will follow quickly upon sudden favor. The tests devised in the laboratory to measure relative abilities have made good in the application to industry. The technique is simple; for what is needed is only a ranking scale, not an absolute yardstick. To determine where a person stands in a group of one hundred as to quickness of visual perception or span of memory-grasp or skill in handling simple logical concepts, is readily possible if we can agree as to the content and method of the tests which shall be accepted as typical of the traits in question. And even if there is little to assure us that the tests selected are the best possible, it is possible to determine that they are good enough. For they may be made to carry their corrective with them. To this end the candidates are again rated according to the actual records made in their pursuits or performance, and still again according to an estimate of their proficiency or with what has proved to be a fair test of their general intelligence. The final test lies in the correlation of any one ability with the general intelligence or rating or accomplishment. After due allowance is made, there can be no question that the method pays. Psychological testing not only saves waste in fitting jobs to men or selecting men for jobs; it analyzes the factors upon which ordinary judgment (which in a measure it replaces) operates, and assigns unexpected ratings to points commonly overlooked. It is an efficient aid to analysis, a corrective of impressionism, and a stimulus to a fairer estimate of human differences. The essential desideratum is to realize fully and daily the limitations of the method; it is not a panacea nor is it to be made a cult. That is the great danger of such "systems"; they produce devotees. This Dr. Link fully recognizes, and recognizes in detail that the tests succeed best in occupations which are simple. The Binet tests work because children are simpler than adults. The more varied and complex the occupation, the more limited will be the verdict of tests.

It is this obvious financial importance of such works that invites the abuse of the charlatan. A shocking example is the book of Mr. Balkin with the absurd title "The New Science of Analyzing Character," a preposterous and mischievous work which is nothing but a cheap rehash of all the exploded notions of ignorant pseudo-science, heralded as the rare discovery of a "character analyst and employer's adviser." The crassest notions of phrenology and physiognomy are put forth as gospel, with the usual vaporous padding that gives the reader the impression that the words contain ideas. There is no purpose in calling attention to such a work except the social service of using it as a warning.

The large interest in the abnormal phases of the mind's behavior is represented in the present list by a slight but significant contribution. Mr. Bridges's book represents the two sources of the interest in the abnormal: the clinic, with its vexed problem of classifying in intelligible fashion the varieties of the insanities; and the rational curiosity regarding exaggerations and distortions of partial mental processes. Defect and excess and disproportion, impediment and entanglement, and the several handicaps of inferiority and psychic inhibition, make up a large and sorry tale of the imperfections of the human mind. It requires both orders of consideration to complete the survey of the mentally abnormal; and both are recognized in this well-planned outline, with, however, too detailed an emphasis of the clinical features to be adapted to students of psychology who are not looking forward to medicine.

JOSEPH JASTROW.

The Politics of Young India

The Political Future of India. By Lajpat Rai. B. W. Huebsch.

AMONG the many circumstances which obscure the problem of India to students of international relations none is more pernicious than the systematic blindness to the simple truism that there is no such country as India. The weakest link in the chain of arguments advanced by Indian politicians is that bearing on the Native States which, numbering over half a thousand, cover, in various degrees of subjection to Great Britain, over a third of the South Asian sub-continent and comprise about twenty-five per cent of its population. But even more serious than this breach in the alleged unity of India is the racial or linguistic disparity of the different provinces, a disparity which no honest application of Mazzini's nationality-principle or of the Bolshevist theory of self-determination could ever ignore. As for the differences between Hindus and Mohammedans, and the caste divisions in social life of which even the tyro in Indian affairs glibly talks, they are quite insignificant when legal, political, or economic organization is considered. By no means are they more potent as hindrances to national self-realization than are the conditions of *Realpolitik* obtaining in the West today. As in Europe, with its score of kingdoms and republics and its dozen of new irredentas, in India the real and only legitimate basis of political differentiation is territorial, allowing of course for the complications that are inevitable everywhere because of the borderland Alsace-Lorraines and the question of minorities. Indeed, the house of cards called United India would not be more a thing of the past had the fortunes of the last war been ever so different from what they happened to be; for the terms of a victorious Germany in regard to Asia and Africa would hardly have been more ruthless, humanly speaking, than were those of the Allies in regard to the national boundaries of Central Europe. The present map of India, hodge-podge as it is, is the greatest superstition of Indian patriots; the fallacy of their political writers consists in trying to envisage future state-making on the lines of the map that has been artificially

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created by the haphazard annexations of the British since 1757.

These considerations will not trouble the reader of Lajpat Rai's book. The strength and weakness of Mr. Rai are the strength and weakness of his school, of the political party to which he belongs. Constructive statesmanship is not to be expected from persons who by the force of circumstances are habituated chiefly to ventilate opinions that have no chance of being done into life, opinions embodying cut and dried resistance to cut and dried resolutions made by the Foreign Office—persons who have neither the intellectual boldness to think in terms of India's freedom nor the moral sincerity to be champions of the British empire. The world has to recognize once for all that there are two Indias so far as politics is concerned—one the India that is in evidence and the other the India that is underground. It is from the open or surface India that speakers and writers, men of the Indian National Congress or of the Moslem League (Mr. Rai, for instance), come. The India of subterranean energies chooses to maintain a solemn silence except only in armed upheavals whose history and philosophy have laboriously to be unearthed by officers of the criminal investigation department.

It is the militaristic activity of this silent and sullen India with its network of sympathizers and agents in France, America, Germany, Japan, and Russia that taxes the brains of the far-sighted statesmen of Great Britain, who can afford altogether to ignore the India of speaking agitators as such. All the sops which those statesmen have been offering since 1908 in order to "rally the moderates to the Crown," as the phrase goes in Anglo-Indian vocabulary, are but prizes that non-radical or Menshevik India enjoys on the unseen shoulders of bomb-throwers and arms-smugglers whose idealism does not stop short of anything but sovereign independence of the Japanese type. Even superficial observers could not have failed to notice during and since the war that the open demands of the Indian National Congress and of the Moslem League rise in geometrical progression according as the secret societies are felt mysteriously to be growing in numbers and extending their conquests from class to class. Only in view of this fact are Mr. Rai's essay and the latest speeches by political orators on fiscal autonomy, educational budget, army and navy expenses, and tariff reform of importance to international diplomatists; they issue from the only channels through which the surface-ripples of contemporary India can be observed.

Hopelessly situated as patriotic India is from the standpoint of military preparedness, the school of open politics can only exhibit to the world an M. K. Gandhi, with his banner of "devotion to truth" (Satyagraha), or passive resistance (the only form of resistance, by the way, conceivable under the circumstances). And while Mohammed Ali, a Moslem leader, preaches the theocratic ideal of the kingdom of Allah (God), Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu, invites his compatriots to offer a prayer to God to give "power to suffer." What else, then, can Mr. Rai do but seek good company by exhorting his emasculated countrymen to study virtue and morality? Verily, a subject race can have patriotism but no politics, unless it be the politics of echoing the sentiments of a half dozen personal friends in the master race, or of serving as contented second fiddles to the alien ruler in order to consolidate and fortify his empire against the eventualities of the "next war." Without committing oneself to the British or the Indian angle of vision the academic student of social progress will derive a new orientation in problems of the contact of cultures by coming in touch with the politics of Young India.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

The Democratic Convention at San Francisco

in *The Nation* of July 10

American Labor History

A Short History of the American Labor Movement. By Mary Beard. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

Organized Labor in American History. By Frank Tracy Carlton. D. Appleton and Company.

THE news about labor in the daily press, the discussions of labor problems in the street cars and at the supper tables, even some of the learned articles and speeches by those whom we are pleased to respect as national leaders, are enough to enforce, upon the mind of the informed, Graham Wallas's doubt about the future of our civilization. An age of a thousand important specialisms, reflected with such little accuracy and expertness by the average man, cries out for synthesis—but who is there to furnish it, and how is it to be supplied? In the case of labor, however, we have a right to expect more widespread and more detailed information than is ordinarily displayed. Everyone now understands that a large, perhaps a determining role in the creation of the immediate future must be assumed by the labor movement, and there is at least a third of the morning paper which cannot be read intelligently unless we know something about it.

Yet even persons with a keen interest in the recent developments sometimes talk as if unions sprang into active being yesterday, or as if labor first began to speak through the Russian soviets or the British Labor Party. We are apt to forget that the American labor movement cannot be understood unless we know its origins and history, and that its history reaches back almost to the foundation of the republic. This is in part the fault of American scholars, who left us without an adequate history until the publication, in 1918, of "A History of Labor in the United States," by John R. Commons and his associates. That scholarly two-volume work made an excellent beginning, but it is perhaps a little forbidding to the general reader. Certainly there was need for a smaller and more compact summary for schools. Education cannot be regarded as complete while students are given Macaulay and left in ignorance of the background of trade-unions in the United States. For union classes and labor colleges also a short book is indispensable.

Mrs. Beard's book could hardly be better, as a readable and brief summary. She has relied principally upon the Commons history, yet her work is much more useful than an undigested abstract, because she has regrouped the essential facts under a scheme more suitable to a short book than the plan of the two-volume history would be. Her dependence on Mr. Commons is noticeable rather in the interpretation of the facts presented. This interpretation regards the main events of labor history as being susceptible of statement in two alternating curves—one of trade-union economic action proper, and the other of political action; the trade-union curve rising to its greatest heights in periods of prosperity, and falling in periods of depression, and the political curve assuming the opposite course. There is little fault to be found with this interpretation, except that Mr. Commons sometimes seems to imply that increased political action is the cause rather than the result of trade-union impotence. It also may prove to be somewhat over-simplified, and forgetful of other profound influences, if, as is now the case in Britain, there should arise a simultaneous leap to power both of trade unions and a labor political movement. It does not interfere, however, with a candid presentation of the essential facts up to the present. The growth of the independent local craft unions in the early half of the nineteenth century, their gradual struggle toward national affiliation, the successive bodies such as the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor, the various cooperative, political, or revolutionary movements, are well presented. In any future edition two minor corrections should be made. On page 101 the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees is listed as one of the four

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great independent railway brotherhoods, whereas the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen is obviously meant, the former organization having arisen during the recent war and having been for a time affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. On page 124 the federal local is mentioned as an example of industrial unionism, whereas many of the federal unions are on a craft basis, and are merely local unions directly affiliated with the national Federation because no national bodies exist in their own trades. These errors, however, do not bulk large in so excellent and useful a manual.

Mr. Carlton's book is by no means so well knit as Mrs. Beard's. It is rather a collection of articles, the first one alone being a highly condensed history. The others deal in a more discursive fashion with labor's part in the adoption and interpretation of the Constitution, in establishing the free school, in land reform, and in more recent activities. In general they are enlightened, and represent the newer and more generous attitude of liberal economists toward the aspirations of labor.

GEORGE SOULE

Drama

The Changing Drama

Liluli. By Romain Rolland. Boni and Liveright.
First Plays. By A. A. Milne. Alfred A. Knopf.
Three Lancashire Plays. By Harold Brighouse. Samuel French.
The Gloss of Youth. By Henry Howard Furness, Jr. J. B. Lippincott Company.
The Birth of God. By Verner von Heidenstam. Translated by K. M. Knudsen. The Four Seas Company.
The Death of Titian. By Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Translated by J. Heard, Jr. The Four Seas Company.

INTO his lyrical farce M. Rolland has concentrated all aspects of the great illusion that fills the world with blood and din. He is gay, but his gaiety has an edge of sadness; his touch is both light and plastic, but it builds on a foundation of severe and systematic thought. He, if no other, sustains in his exile today the great tradition of France—the tradition of serious laughter, of undimmed vision, of triumphant good sense. The memories of men are pitifully like sieves. But in "Liluli" France at least possesses a brief and lasting reminder of the true character of the nations' greatest madness. M. Rolland begins with the doctrine of "Armed Peace," of "fellows so afraid of fire that they put it to their tails." He points out the ignoble mockery of life within the states armed for peace, of "preparedness" and "morale." "Fraternity" is "a cannibal." "Liberty" is seen "with her horsewhip leading men in chains." There were the Hurlurberloches and the Gallipoulets—simple, kindly, at peace. But they were taught to make differences a matter for hatred, and preparedness a challenge, until their masters, the Fat Men, had confused and goaded them to the point of blind rage. The Fat Men grew fatter and roared their litany: "God created evil, pestilence, patriotism, wealth, and war." And the young and ardent, Altair and Antares, are deluded through what is noblest in them. They sink into the arms of illusion and die for the Fat Men and the Fat Men's Master—God. The whole matter is glaringly and cruelly clear to the few who are accessible to experience and thought. But the masses of men have little natural aptitude for either, and therefore it is a pity that M. Rolland has chosen the now dominant symbolical forms for the embodiment of his fable. Never so much as today did art need to speak directly. Yet everywhere on the Continent the neo-romantic forms are absorbing all others. They demand the effort of a highly-trained imagination and painfully limit the audience of the poet. "Liluli" is beautiful and memorable. But its literary sophistication stands in the way of its broader effectiveness.

England was the last country to be reached by the modern renascence of the drama, so that English playwrights are still apt to use the naturalistic method which has been largely discarded elsewhere. The persistence of naturalism in England has been further supported by the fact that the two chief living British dramatists, Shaw and Galsworthy, are anything in the world rather than poets and were both unable and unwilling, like Hauptmann, to follow the lure of the new forms and moods. The result is that a good, playable, naturalistic play, whether comic or tragic, is more apt to reach us from England today than from Germany or France. Mr. A. A. Milne's "First Plays" are cases in point. No young Continental artist, discovering himself to be a playwright during the very years of the war, would have written with this sobriety, good humor, and straightforward realism. Such an artist would, no doubt, have written more profoundly and imaginatively, but also more obscurely and, in no low sense, less usefully. Mr. Milne, to be sure, is capable of being both trivial and sentimental. But his dialogue is deft and natural, and his observation of human nature cool and sane. His best play, The Lucky One, a comedy-drama in three acts, is an admirable piece of dramatic writing. Its structure has the grace of unobtrusive naturalness, its people have an easy genuineness of speech and gesture, its spiritual point is profound without mysteriousness and subtle without obscurity. To the shame of both the London and the New York managers this play has so far gone begging for a production and gone in vain.

The "Manchester School" of drama which owes so much to the excellent repertory playhouse of Miss Horniman has also been prevalently naturalistic in method. Its danger has been a sudden sagging into either the sentimental or the melodramatic. The late Stanley Houghton escaped that danger in "The Younger Generation," and Mr. Allan Monkhouse escaped it in his delightful "Mary Broome." Mr. Brighouse's touch and temper are equally uncertain. The most ambitious of his three Lancashire plays is "The Northerners." The time is 1820, the theme the futile rebellion of the weavers whose hand-looms disappeared and who were driven by hunger into the terrible slavery of the early factories. Thus Mr. Brighouse directly challenges comparison with Hauptmann. And that is a bit of excessive rashness. His own action is ingenious in the bad and artificial sense, and flares into the noisiest melodrama in the last act. His people speak in terrible pentameters that Mr. Brighouse either did not hear or, what is worse, enjoyed.

> Maybe if you had done that earlier
> We should have seen by now some sign of what
> I'm looking for from you.

"The Game" is a far sounder and less pretentious play than "The Northerners"; "Zack" is negligible.

"The Gloss of Youth" is an eminent scholar's brief diversion in which Shakespeare discusses with John Fletcher his relations to the public and his art and is consoled by the appreciation of two children who are no other than little "Jack" Milton and "Noll" Cromwell. It is all a little over-intentional, and the prose of the dialogue scans even more swellingly than that of Mr. Brighouse. But the little play is, no doubt, well suited for such academic occasions as the one which caused it to be written.

The last and first phases of Continental neo-romanticism are represented by Heidenstam's "The Birth of God" and Hofmannsthal's "The Death of Titian." One need be no morose praiser of time past to prefer the first phase to the last. When the boy Hofmannstahl—he was only seventeen—wrote "Der Tod des Tizian," what stirred him was the wonder of the world's beauty and the miracle of art. He was neither rebelling nor reacting against anything. He fashioned those incomparable verses (which Mr. Heard has sensitively read but quite failed to render) because the very pang of beauty wrung them from him. No wonder that such verses are not written today either in Vienna or elsewhere. Yet what do the new mysteries of the neo-romantics avail us? In spare and fragile prose the Swedish poet echoes a cry that we find in many of the works of the poets of post-war Europe, the cry after a new god. Has not humanity suffered and bled enough—as Rolland makes clear—

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for the gods of its own making? Will the new god be less man-made than the old? Beauty, at least, exists. We know it by our vision and our touch. To love and conserve and increase it, is better than to cry into the void.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Books in Brief

THE orthodox economists are in such a helpless muddle in regard to soaring prices that it is a relief to find a thinker who does not scatter explanations with a shot gun all over the barn door but goes straight to his mark. Major C. H. Douglas, in "Economic Democracy" (Harcourt, Brace and Howe), finds the explanation in the relation of banker-credit to sale-price. It is the "unearned increment" idea applied to industrialism. The book is immensely stimulating; it is fresh and sincere in the finest British way. There is not a word of cant, not even the conventional Marxian phraseology. The author accepts the facts which the war laid bare, stripping away the humbuggery which timid souls love to veil their eyes with. Democracy means to him freedom of endeavor in a society where the social wealth no longer lies open to exploitation for individual advantage. This freedom he finds everywhere threatened by centralization—a pyramidal structure of society with its Prussian regimentation controlled by ambitious self-seekers. Bureaucratic socialism offers no remedy, for it implies an even worse autocracy. The key to the solution is found in the social control of credit, which is the financial reflex of productive power. It rests partly upon labor power, but far more upon the accumulated wealth of inventions, processes, raw materials, and the like—wealth which in no sense is individual. The banker-financier today, it is claimed, exploits this social-power of production; he taxes the public by adding his credit-profit to the sale price, thereby creating the ugly paradox that the producer cannot buy what he produces because of an inadequate wage-fund. This is the disease from which the present system is here said to be dying; and increased production only aggravates the disease. Socialize credit, says Major Douglas, and the way is left open to individual initiative, while at the same time the sale price will fall approximately to the labor cost. This process is illustrated in a suggestive way. Unfortunately the book is too brief. Excessive concentration has left it obscure in vital portions—a weakness that should be removed in a second edition. P.

AN analysis of British characteristics by a British professor is a difficult task for any fair-minded man, which is probably why Mr. J. S. Mackenzie, in "Arrows of Desire" (Macmillan), draws upon a consensus of other people's opinions with which to support his own. This continual reference to authorities is a little wearisome to the flesh, the more so since Mr. Mackenzie shows himself a really competent judge of the matter, avoiding self-glorification without the obverse fault of detraction in order to prove himself just. Taking Shakespeare's Henry V as his text he agrees with most of what Bradley has written on the subject, but discusses at some length its application to the charge of hypocrisy that is continually laid at the door of the British nation. Perhaps Voltaire's epigram that hypocrisy is the homage which vice renders to virtue is the best apology that was ever offered for the British attitude of mind. Or, as some one explained a bigamist by saying that he was so respectable that he simply couldn't live with some one to whom he wasn't married, so the Briton is so anxious to be on the side of the angels that sometimes he may take crooked paths to get there. The question came up in all its force at the beginning of the war when Lord Grey was considered a monster of hypocrisy by the Central Empires for not having said earlier that England would come into the war. Mr. Mackenzie's own

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is the first book (although anything but the first written work) of a very young English writer, Dorothy Easton. It is a collection of stories of the southern countryside of England. Miss Easton was "discovered" by John Galsworthy, who is very enthusiastic about her and has written an Introduction to her book. $2.00.

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Country Sentiment
is the latest collection of poems from the pen of Robert Graves, one of the foremost of the younger group of English poets to which Sassoon and Robert Nichols belong. Louis Untermeyer said of him when his FAIRIES AND FUSILIERS appeared: "It is a fine-tempered instrument he uses, and the music he strikes from it is as lovely as it is varied." $1.25.

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analysis is very enlightening in this direction; but perhaps his best section is that dealing with the common charges of cruelty and sentimentality against the English. "In general," he says, "when the English are cruel, they try to connect their cruelty with some form of moral sentiment. This cruelty is partly to be ascribed to the doggedness of the national temperament. An Englishman is not readily deterred from any course upon which he has entered. Hence, in the attempt to devise deterrent punishments those who use them are driven from one severity to another."

A PICTURE of the Near East, exotic yet diffused with that tranquil candor which bespeaks authenticity, is unrolled to Occidental eyes in "La Danseuse de Shamakha," by Armèn Ohanian (Paris: Grasset). It is the life of an Armenian girl who, after dancing her way to Paris by way of the music halls of England and America, after tasting the pleasures and learning the gray routine of civilization, turns back, regretfully, to relate her childhood and the long Asian Odyssey of her adventurous youth. A true artist, unspoiled by Western conventions of vision and expression, Mlle. Ohanian has succeeded in giving a panorama-like unity to these intimate, romantic sketches. One follows, entranced as by some new Arabian Nights, their various phases: the stately Oriental picture of her childhood in patriarchal Armenia, the disillusion of her schooldays in Russian Baku, the tragic end of her father, massacred by Cossacks; the hasty marriage that ended so pitifully, the long, contented stay with a Mohammedan family of Persia, and at last the artist's restlessness and the artist's curiosity which led her to Constantinople, Greece, and Egypt, where she signed away her liberty in a contract with a European theatrical manager. A sequel, describing her career "dans les griffes de la civilisation," is promised to this curious volume of memories, which holds the reader by a vivid, nostalgic charm somewhat recalling Pierre Loti. A brief letter of introduction, by Anatole France, serves as preface.

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International Relations Section

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The Turkish Treaty

THE official summary of the Turkish treaty handed to the Turkish delegates on May 11 follows. In response to a request for more time in which to consider the document, July 11 has been fixed by the Allies as the final date for acceptance or rejection.

Preamble

The preamble recites shortly the origin of the war and enumerates the High Contracting Parties, represented by the four principal Allied Powers, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, and the other Allied Powers, Belgium, Greece, the Hejaz, Armenia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and Czecho-Slovakia on the one hand, and Turkey on the other.

Part I: League of Nations

Here follows the text of the Covenant as embodied in the treaty of peace with Germany.

Part II: The Boundaries of Turkey

The boundaries of Turkey are described in two articles, one dealing with Turkey in Europe and the other with Turkey in Asia. The frontier of Turkey in Europe is approximately that of the Chatalja lines, the northern half of these lines being, however, advanced in a northwesterly direction so as to include within the boundaries of Turkey the whole area of Lake Derkos, which is a reservoir for the supply of water to Constantinople.

The boundaries of Turkey in Asia remain the same except as regards the southern frontier, which together with the new frontier in Europe and the boundary of the Greek administrative zone round Smyrna (see section dealing with Smyrna below), is shown approximately on the attached map. The above boundaries are described in detail in the treaty in so far as they are not left to be settled by boundary commissions on the spot. Provision is also made in the treaty for a possible modification of the present frontier between Turkey and the independent state of Armenia—viz., the former Russo-Turkish frontier in this region, by reference to the arbitration of the President of the United States regarding a new boundary for Armenia in the vilayets of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van, and Bitlis.

Part III: Political Clauses

Constantinople

Subject to the provisions of the treaty, the parties agree to the maintenance of Turkish sovereignty over Constantinople, but a reservation is made that if Turkey fails to observe the provisions of the treaty or of supplementary treaties or conventions, particularly as regards the protection of minorities, the Allied Powers may modify the above provisions, and Turkey agrees to accept any dispositions which may be made in this connection.

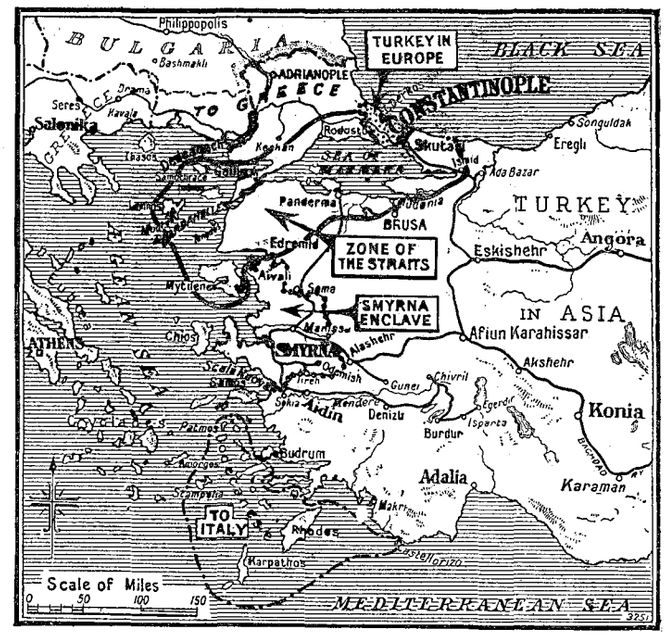
The Straits

The navigation of the Straits, including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus, is to be open in future both in peace and war to every vessel of commerce or of war and to military and commercial aircraft without distinction of flag. These waters are not to be subject to blockade, and no belligerent right is to be exercised nor any act of hostility committed within them unless in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations.

A Commission of the Straits is established with control over these waters, to which both the Turkish and Greek Governments delegate the necessary powers. The Commission is composed of representatives appointed respectively by the United States of America (if and when that Government is willing to participate), the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Russia (if and when Russia becomes a member of the League of Nations), Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria (if and when Bulgaria becomes a member of the League of Nations). Each Power is to appoint one representative, but the representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and Russia have two votes each, and the representatives of the other three Powers one vote each.

The Commission exercises its authority in complete independence of the local authority, with its own flag, budget, and separate organization. The Commission is charged with the execution of any works necessary for the improvement of the channels or the approaches to harbors, lighting and buoying, the control of pilotage and towage, the control of anchorages, the control necessary to assure the execution in the ports of Constantinople and Haidar Pasha of the regime laid down in that part of the treaty relating to ports, waterways, and railways, and the control of all matters relating to wrecks and salvage and lighterage.

In the case of threats to the freedom of passage of the Straits, special provision is made for appeal by the Commission to the representatives at Constantinople of Great Britain, France, and Italy, which Powers, under the military provisions of the treaty, provide forces for the occupation of the zone of the Straits. These representatives will concert with the naval and military commanders of the Allied forces the necessary measures, whether the threat comes from within or without the zone of the Straits.



Provision is also made for the acquisition of property or permanent works by the Commission, the raising of loans, the levying of dues on shipping in the Straits, the transfer to the Commission of the functions exercised within the waters of the Straits by the Constantinople Superior Council of Health, the Turkish Sanitary Administration, and the National Life Boat Service of the Bosporus, and the relations of the Commission with persons or companies now holding concessions relating to lighthouses, docks, quays, or similar matters are laid down.

The Commission is empowered to raise a special police force, and provision is made for dealing with infringements of the regulations and by-laws of the Commission by the appropriate local courts, whether consular, Turkish, or Greek.

A special article lays down that all dues and charges imposed

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by the Commission shall be levied without any discrimination and on a footing of absolute equality between all vessels, whatever their port of origin or destination or departure, their flag or ownership, or the nationality or the ownership of their cargoes.

Articles analogous to the relevant provisions of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 deal with the transit of warships, prizes, the passage of belligerent warships, and their stay within the waters under the control of the Commission as well as their repair or replenishment with supplies or the completion of their crews, but the freedom of action of belligerents acting in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations is specially reserved. Further regulations are to be laid down by the League of Nations regarding the passage of war material and contraband destined for the enemies of Turkey and other kindred matters.

Kurdistan

Turkey accepts in advance a scheme of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas, east of the Euphrates, south of the southern frontier of Armenia, as eventually fixed, and north of the southern frontier of Turkey, to be drafted by a commission composed of British, French, and Italian representatives sitting at Constantinople. This scheme is to protect the rights of Assyro-Chaldeans and other racial or religious minorities within the above area, and with this object provision is also made for a possible rectification of the Turkish frontier, where that frontier coincides with that of Persia.

Secondly, the treaty provides for an appeal for complete independence, within a stated time to the Council of the League of Nations by the Kurdish peoples within the above area, and for the grant of such independence by Turkey, if recommended by the Council. In that event the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul vilayet are to be allowed, if they so desire, to adhere to the independent Kurdish state.

Smyrna

The Turkish Government agrees to transfer to the Greek Government the exercise of her rights of sovereignty over a special area round the city of Smyrna. In witness of Turkish sovereignty the Turkish flag is to be flown on one of the forts outside Smyrna. The Greek Government is to be responsible for the administration of the area, may keep troops there to maintain order, may include the area in the Greek customs system, and is to establish a local parliament on the basis of a scheme of proportional representation of minorities which is to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations and only to come into force after approval by a majority of the Council. The elections may be postponed for a limited period to allow the return of inhabitants banished or deported by the Turkish authorities.

Special provisions are included regarding the protection of minorities, the nationality of the inhabitants in the area and their protection abroad, the suspension of compulsory military service, freedom of commerce and transit, the use of the port of Smyrna by Turkey, the currency of the area, financial obligations, and the salt mines of Phocoea.

Finally, after five years the local parliament may ask the Council of the League of Nations for the incorporation of the area in the kingdom of Greece, and the Council may impose a plebiscite, but if such incorporation is granted, Turkey agrees in advance to renounce all her rights to the territory in favor of Greece.

Greece

Turkey renounces in favor of Greece her rights and titles over Turkish territory in Europe outside the frontier shown on the attached map, as well as over Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, Samothrace, Mytilene, Samos, Nikaria, and Chios, and certain other islands in the Aegean. In the zone of the Straits the Greek Government accepts practically the same obligations as are imposed in Turkey. Provision is made for a separate treaty to be signed by Greece, protecting racial, linguistic, and religious minorities in her new territories, particularly at Adrianople, and safeguarding freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations. Greece also assumes certain financial obligations.

Armenia

Turkey recognizes Armenia as a free and independent state, and agrees to accept the arbitration of the President of the United States of America upon the question of the frontier between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, and upon Armenia's access to the sea. Provision is made for the obligations and rights which may pass to Armenia as the result of the award of the President giving former Turkish territory to her, for the eventual delimitation of the Armenian frontiers in Turkey as a result of the arbitration and of the Armenian frontiers with Georgia and Azerbaijan, failing direct agreement on the subject by the three states, and for a separate treaty to be signed by Armenia protecting racial, linguistic, and religious minorities, and safeguarding freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

Syria and Mesopotamia

Syria and Mesopotamia are provisionally recognized by the High Contracting Parties as independent states in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, subject to the tendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until they are able to stand alone. The boundaries of the states and the selection of mandatories will be fixed by the principal Allied Powers.

Palestine

By the application of the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant, the administration of Palestine is also intrusted to a mandatory. The selection of the mandatory and the determination of the frontiers of Palestine will be made by the principal Allied Powers. The declaration originally made on November 2, 1917 by the British Government, and adopted by the other Allied Governments, in favor of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine is reaffirmed and its terms cited in the treaty. Provision is also made for a special commission with a chairman appointed by the League of Nations, to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine.

The terms of the mandates will be drafted by the principal Allied Powers and submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval.

Hejaz

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers recognizes the Hejaz as a free and independent state, and transfers to the Hejaz her sovereign rights over territory outside the boundaries of the former Turkish Empire and within the boundaries of the Hejaz as shall ultimately be fixed.

In view of the sacred character of the cities and Holy Places of Mecca and Medina in the eyes of all Moslems, the King of the Hejaz undertakes to insure free and easy access thereto of Moslems of every country desiring to go there on pilgrimages and for other religious objects, and respect for pious foundations. Provision is also made for complete commercial equality in the territory of the Hejaz as regards the new states in Turkey and all states members of the League of Nations.

Egypt, Sudan, and Cyprus

Turkey renounces all rights and titles over Egypt as from November 5, 1914, and recognizes the Protectorate proclaimed by Great Britain over Egypt on December 18, 1914. Special clauses provide for the acquisition of Egyptian nationality by Turkish subjects, and their right to opt for Turkish nationality, for the treatment of Egypt and Egyptian nationals, their goods and vessels, on the same footing as the Allied Powers and their nationals, for the protection of Egyptian nationals abroad by Great Britain, for the renunciation in favor of Great Britain of the powers conferred upon the Sultan of Turkey by the Convention signed at Constantinople on October 29, 1888, regarding the Suez Canal, for the treatment of property belonging to the Turkish Government and Turkish nationals in Egypt, for the

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renunciation by Turkey of all claim to the tribute formerly paid by Egypt, and for the acceptance by Great Britain of Turkey's liability for Turkish loans secured on the Egyptian tribute.

The High Contracting Parties take note of the convention between the British and Egyptian Governments of January 19, 1899, and the supplementary convention of July 10, 1899, regarding the status and administration of the Sudan.

The High Contracting Parties also recognize the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on November 5, 1914. Turkey renounces all rights over the island including the right to tribute formerly paid by that island to the Sultan, and provision is made for the acquisition of British nationality by Turkish nationals born or habitually resident in Cyprus.

Morocco, Tunis

Turkey recognizes the French Protectorate in Morocco as from March 30, 1912, and the French Protectorate over Tunis as from May 12, 1881. Moroccan and Tunisian goods entering Turkey shall be subject to the same treatment as French goods.

Libya, Aegean Islands

Turkey renounces all rights and privileges left to the Sultan in Libya under the Treaty of Lausanne of October 12, 1912. Turkey also renounces in favor of Italy all rights and titles over the Dodecanese, now in the occupation of Italy, and also over the island of Castellorizzo.

Nationality

Detailed provisions are inserted in the treaty for regulating the status of Turkish subjects habitually resident in territory detached by the treaty from Turkey. These follow generally the lines of analogous provisions inserted in the treaty with Austria.

General Provisions

Under this heading Turkey recognizes and accepts all other treaties and supplementary conventions with other enemy states, and with states now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Russian Empire, as well as the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk treaties, and of all treaties, conventions, and agreements made by Turkey with the Bolshevist Government in Russia. Special provision is made for Turkey's acceptance of a scheme of judicial reform (on the lines either of a mixed or unified system) to be drafted by the principal Allied Powers with the assistance of technical experts of the other capitulatory Powers, Allied or neutral. This scheme shall replace the present capitulatory system in judicial matters in Turkey. Clauses also provide for an amnesty by Turkey to Turkish subjects assisting the Allies during the war, and for the renunciation by Turkey of all rights of suzerainty or jurisdiction over Moslems who are subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of any other state.

PART IV: PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Turkey is to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion. Special provision is made for the annulment of forcible conversions to Islam during the war and for the search and delivery, under the aegis of mixed commissions appointed by the League of Nations, of all persons in Turkey of whatever race or religion carried off, interned, or placed in captivity during the war, and for future agreements with Turkey and other states regarding reciprocal or voluntary emigration of persons belonging to racial minorities.

The law of abandoned properties, 1915, is to be repealed, and Turkey agrees to certain measures of restitution and reparation, controlled by mixed arbitral commissions appointed by the League of Nations, in favor of subjects of non-Turkish race who have suffered during the war. These commissions will have power generally to arrange for carrying out works of reconstruction, the removal of undesirable persons from different localities, the disposal of property belonging to members of a community who have died or disappeared during the war without leaving heirs, and for the cancellation of forced sales of property during the war.

This chapter further safeguards by special provisions the civil and political rights of minorities, the free use of their language, their right to establish, without interference by the Turkish authorities, educational, religious, and charitable institutions, and their ecclesiastical and scholastic autonomy. The measures necessary to guarantee the execution of this chapter of the treaty are to be decided upon by the principal Allied Powers in consultation with the Council of the League of Nations, and Turkey accepts in advance any decisions that may be taken on the subject.

PART V: MILITARY CLAUSES

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Turkey undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow.

The military terms provide for the demobilization of the Turkish armies and the imposition of other military restrictions within three months of the signing of the treaty.

Recruiting on a voluntary and non-racial, non-religious basis is to be established, providing for the enlistment of non-commissioned officers and men for a period of not less than twelve consecutive years, and stipulating that officers shall serve for twenty-five years, and shall not be retired until the age of forty-five. No reserve of officers with war service is permitted, and the annual replacement of either officers or men who leave before the expiration of their term is not to exceed 5 per cent of the total effectives of commissioned and other ranks respectively.

Turkey will be allowed to maintain an armed land force to serve the following purposes: the maintenance of internal order and security; the protection of minorities; the control of Turkish frontiers.

This force will comprise (1) gendarmerie, 35,000 men; (2) special elements intended for the reinforcement of the gendarmerie in case of serious trouble, 15,000 men; (3) the Sultan's bodyguard, 700 men.

The gendarmerie is to be distributed over Turkish territory, which will be divided for this purpose into a number of territorial areas to be delimited by the inter-Allied commission which will be responsible for the control and organization of the Turkish armed force. In each territorial area there will be one gendarmerie legion, the maximum strength of which is not to exceed one-quarter of the total strength of the gendarmerie. Neither artillery nor technical troops will be included in the gendarmerie legions. Provision is made for the collaboration of officers from Allied and neutral Powers in the command and training of the gendarmerie.

The special elements referred to above may include mountain artillery and technical services, in addition to infantry, cavalry, and general administrative services. Not more than one-third of the total strength of the special elements may be allotted to any one territorial area.

It will be seen from the above that the total number of Turkish effectives—excluding the Sultan's bodyguard—is fixed at 50,000, which figure includes not more than 2,500 officers. Any increase in the number of customs and forestry officials or urban police, or the military training of these, or of railway employees is prohibited, and no formations are to include supplementary cadres.

Military schools are to be reduced to one for officers, and one per territorial area for non-commissioned officers.

The armament, munitions, and material of war at the disposal of Turkey are limited to a schedule based on the amount considered necessary for the new armed force. No reserves may be formed, and all existing armaments, munitions, and stores in excess of the limit fixed must be handed to the Allies for disposal. No flame throwers, poison gases, tanks, nor armored cars are to be manufactured or imported. The manufacture of arms and war material of any sort shall take place only in factories authorized by the Inter-Allied Commission of Control. Turkey is prohibited from manufacturing armaments and munitions for foreign countries, and from importing them from abroad.

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For the purpose of guaranteeing the freedom of the Straits all works, fortifications, and batteries are to be demolished within a zone extending 20 kilometers inland from the coasts of the Sea of Marmora and of the Straits and comprising the islands of the Sea of Marmora, also the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Tenedos, and Mytilene.

The construction of similar works or of roads or railways suitable for the rapid transport of mobile batteries is forbidden; France, Great Britain, and Italy have the right to prepare for demolition any existing roads and railways which might be utilized to this end, and to maintain such military forces within the zone as they may consider necessary; otherwise the zone is not to be used for military purposes. This provision does not exclude the employment of forces of Greek and Turkish gendarmerie which will be under the inter-Allied command of the forces of occupation, nor the presence of the Sultan's bodyguard.

Naval

The naval clauses provide for the surrender of all Turkish warships with the exception of a few small, lightly-armed vessels which may be retained for police and fishery duties.

Turkey is forbidden to construct or acquire any surface warships other than those required to replace the units allowed for police and fishery duties, and is also forbidden to construct or acquire any submarine, even for commercial purposes. Vessels which have been in use as transports and fleet auxiliaries and which can be converted to commercial use are to be disarmed and treated as other merchant vessels.

Warships under construction, including submarines, are to be broken up, except such surface warships as can be completed for commercial purposes, and the material arising from the breaking up is only to be used for purely industrial purposes. All naval war material and munitions, except such as are allowed for the use of the police and fishery vessels, are to be surrendered and their manufacture in Turkish territory is forbidden.

A certain number of the officers and men from the late Turkish navy may be retained for providing the personnel of the police, fishery, and signal services; the remainder is to be demobilized and no other naval forces are to be organized in Turkey.

The personnel for the police and fishery services is to be recruited on a voluntary and long service basis.

The W/T stations in the zone of the Straits are to be surrendered, and neither Turkey nor Greece will be permitted to build W/T stations in the zone.

A naval commission, composed of representatives of the principal Allied Powers, will be appointed to exercise supervision as long as may be necessary to insure the above conditions being complied with.

Air

The air clauses provide that no military or naval air forces are to be maintained by Turkey; that the entire Turkish air force personnel is to be demobilized within two months; and that the aircraft of the Allied Powers are to have freedom of passage over and transit and landing throughout Turkish territory until the complete evacuation of Turkey by the Allies.

The manufacture, importation, and exportation of aircraft or their component parts in Turkish territory during six months following the coming into force of the treaty is forbidden. All military and naval aircraft (including dirigibles) either complete or in process of manufacture, assembling, or repair, all aeronautical material, armament, munitions, and instruments are to be delivered to the principal Allied Powers within three months from the signing of the treaty. The air navigation clauses follow the lines of those in the other peace treaties.

Inter-Allied Commissions

These clauses provide that the military, naval, and air clauses of the treaty are to be executed under the control of military, naval, and aeronautical inter-Allied commissions of which the upkeep and expenditure are to be borne by Turkey.

With the exception of the special section of the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization, which is to supervise the control, organization, and distribution of the new Turkish armed force, these commissions will cease to operate when their work is completed. This section is to operate for a period of five years from the signing of the treaty. At the end of this period the principal Allied Powers are to decide whether the activities of the commission shall continue.

Representatives from each of the three commissions will be appointed to control jointly the measures to be taken with regard to safeguarding the zone of the Straits.

General

General articles provide for certain portions of the armistice of October 30, 1918, to remain in force.

No part is to be taken by Turkey, nor by any individual Turk, in the military, naval, and aeronautical concerns of any foreign nation, and the Allied Powers undertake that they will not employ any Turkish national in this connection. A special provision is made allowing France the right to recruit for the Foreign Legion in accordance with French military law.

PART VI: PRISONERS OF WAR

Turkish prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be repatriated without delay at the cost of the Turkish Government. Those under sentence for offenses against discipline committed before January 1, 1920, are to be repatriated, without regard to their sentence, but this provision does not apply in the case of offenses other than those against discipline.

The Allies have the right to deal at their own discretion with Turkish nationals who do not desire to be repatriated and all repatriation is conditional upon the immediate release of any Allied subjects still in Turkey. The Turkish Government is to afford facilities to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war, in imposing penalties on Turkish officials who have concealed Allied nationals, and in establishing criminal acts committed by Turks against Allied nationals. The Turkish Government is to restore all property belonging to Allied prisoners.

Graves

These clauses provide that the Turkish Government is to transfer to the British, French, and Italian Governments respectively rights of ownership over the ground in Turkey in which are situated the graves of their soldiers and sailors and over the land required for cemeteries, or for providing access to cemeteries. The Greek Government undertakes to fulfil the same obligation so far as concerns the portion of the zone of the Straits placed under its sovereignty.

Within six months from the coming into force of the treaty the British, French, and Italian Governments will respectively notify to the Turkish and Greek Governments the land which is to be transferred to them. The said land will include, in particular, certain areas in the Gallipoli Peninsula. The Government in whose favor the transfer is made will not allow the land to be employed for any purpose other than that to which it is dedicated, and the shore is not to be employed for any military, marine, or commercial purpose.

If compulsory acquisition of the land is necessary it is to be effected by and at the cost of the Turkish or Greek Government, who will not subject the land to any form of taxation. They will undertake to maintain all roads leading to the land, give free access to all persons desirous of visiting the graves, and afford facilities for the requirements of the staff engaged in duties in connection with the cemeteries. The provisions do not affect the Turkish or Greek sovereignty over the transferred land, and these Governments are to take the necessary measures to punish any act of desecration of cemeteries or graves.

The Allies and the Turkish Government are to respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried in their territory, and to recognize and assist any commissions appointed by the Allies in connection with them. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

PART VII: PENALTIES

Military tribunals are to be set up by the Allies to try persons

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accused of acts of violation of the laws and customs of war and the Turkish Government is to hand over all persons so accused. The Governments of states to which former Turkish territory is assigned by the treaty are to act similarly in the case of persons accused of acts against the laws and customs of war who are in the territory or at the disposal of such states. The accused are to be entitled to name their own counsel, and the Turkish Government is to undertake to furnish all documents and information the production of which may be necessary.

The Turkish Government undertakes to surrender to the Allies persons responsible for the massacres committed during the war on the territory of the former Turkish Empire, the Allies reserving the right to designate the tribunal to try such persons or to bring the accused before a tribunal of the League of Nations competent to deal with the said massacres if such a tribunal has been created by the League in sufficient time.

Part VIII: Financial Clauses

This part of the treaty begins by a declaration reproduced from the treaties already signed by Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria. Turkey thereby recognizes that in associating in the war of aggression waged against the Allied Powers she has caused them losses for which she ought to make complete reparation; nevertheless in view of her loss of territory the Powers will be satisfied with obtaining payment of the claims enumerated later in the chapter.

All the resources of Turkey, except revenues ceded or hypothecated to the service of the Ottoman public debt, are to be employed as need arises for effecting the following payments set forth in order of priority.

(1) Ordinary expenses of the Allied forces of occupation after the entry into force of the treaty.

(2) Expenses of the Allied forces of occupation since October 30 in the territories remaining Turkish and expenses of occupation in the territories detached from Turkey to the advantage of a Power other than that which has supported such expenses of occupation.

The expenses covered by the preceding paragraph will be discharged by annuities calculated in a manner to enable Turkey to meet any deficiency that may arise in the sums required to pay that part of the interest on the Ottoman public debt for which Turkey remains responsible.

(3) Indemnities due on account of claims of the Allied Powers for reparation for damages suffered by their nationals.

The Turkish Government agrees to the financial indemnification of all the losses or damages suffered by the civilian nationals of the Allied Powers during the war and up to the entry into force of the treaty.

The Powers, in favor of whom territories are detached from Turkey, acquire without payment all properties and possessions situated therein and registered in the name of the Turkish Empire or the Sultan's civil list.

The Powers in favor of whom territories are detached from the Turkish Empire shall participate in the annual charge for the service of the Ottoman public debt.

The Governments of the states of the Balkan Peninsula and the newly created states in Asia shall give adequate guaranties for the payment of the share which falls to them. The distribution of these annual charges is to be made in proportion to the average revenue of the transferred territory in relation to the total revenues of Turkey during the three years preceding the Balkan war.

The same methods are to be applied for the calculation of the charges affected to the service of the Ottoman public debt, allotted to the Powers who have acquired Turkish territory as a result of the Balkan wars.

Financial Control

A financial commission composed of a representative of each of the interested Allied Powers, France, Great Britain, and Italy, to whom is added a Turkish representative in a consultative capacity, is created in Turkey with a view to take such measures as the commission may judge most suitable for restoring Turkish finances. Its principal functions are the following:

Preliminary examination of Turkish budgets, which may not be applied without its approval;

Supervision over the execution of the budgets and financial laws and regulations of Turkey;

The termination of the measures to be taken with a view to improving the Turkish currency.

Further, the Turkish Government may not establish any new form of taxation, modify its customs system, or contract any internal or external loan without the consent of the financial commission.

The consent of the commission is equally required for the grant of new concessions in Turkey by the Turkish Government.

A clause provides that ultimately the financial commission may be substituted for the Council of the Debt as regards the administration of the conceded revenues. This substitution shall be decided by the Governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy, by a majority and after consulting the bondholders, and this decision shall be taken at least six months before the expiration of the powers of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt.

In particular, as regards the execution of the present treaty, it shall be the duty of the financial commission to fix the annuities to be paid by the Turkish Government for the reimbursement of the expenses of occupation and the settlement of the claims for reparation due to the nationals of the Allied Powers, to determine the amount of the annuities for the service of the Ottoman public debt to be placed to the charge of those Powers in whose favor territories are detached from Turkey, and to arrange for the disposal of the sums in gold transferred by Germany and Austria in execution of Article 259 (1), (2), (4), (7) of the treaty of peace with Germany and of Article 210 (1) of the treaty of Peace with Austria.

Part IX: Economic Clauses

Commercial relations between the Allies and Turkey will be regulated, generally speaking, by the capitulatory regime, which is reestablished in favor of the Allies who enjoyed it before the war and extended to the other Allies. The rate of customs duty is to be that fixed in 1907, i.e., 11 per cent ad valorem. Wide powers are, however, given to the financial commission set up under the treaty to authorize modifications of import duties, the imposition of consumption duties, the application to Allied subjects and their property of taxes imposed on Turkish subjects and their property, and the imposition of prohibitions on importation and exportation. Such action can only be taken after six months' notice in each case to all the Allies.

The provisions with regard to the recognition of shipping documents and of the flags of new states, with regard to unfair trade competition, and with regard to prewar multilateral and bilateral treaties, and with regard to the protection of industrial, literary, and artistic property follow the general lines of the corresponding articles in former treaties of peace.

As in the case of previous treaties of peace the Allies reserve the right to liquidate Turkish property in their territories and to hold the proceeds as a pledge for the payment by Turkey of compensation for damage to Allied property in Turkey during the war and the settlement of prewar private debts. So far as the claims against the Turkish Government are not satisfied from this source they are to be met in accordance with the financial clauses from any surplus available of Turkish revenues from time to time. It should be mentioned that in the case of territory detached from Turkey by the treaty the right to liquidate is limited to the property of Turkish companies and does not extend to the property of Turkish individuals.

The treaty contains provisions for enabling the Allies, if they think fit, to eliminate German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Bulgarian economic penetration in Turkey, by requiring the Turkish Government to liquidate the property of the nationals of those countries in Turkish territory and by themselves liquidating it in territory detached from Turkey. In both cases the general

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principle is that the proceeds of the liquidation shall be paid to the owners, except where the property was Government property, in which case they will be paid to the reparation commissions set up under former treaties of peace.

Special provisions are included in order to enable the acquisition of the property of railway companies under German control. In detached territories the disposal of such property will rest with the Government controlling such territories. In Turkey itself the financial commission will have the disposal of it, the price being fixed by arbitration. In both cases the proceeds of sale will be distributed by the financial commission to such neutrals as are entitled to a share thereof, the share of Germans, Austrians, etc., being paid over to the respective reparation commissions.

The complicated provisions of former treaties for the settlement of prewar debts through clearing houses have not been repeated, the only provision with regard to the settlement of such debts being one which fixes the prewar rate of exchange for the purpose of the settlement of all debts between Turkish subjects in Turkey and Allies not resident or carrying on business in Turkey.

As regards prewar contracts between Allies and Turks the general principle is to maintain or dissolve them and to decide any question relative thereto according to the law of the particular Allied country concerned in each case. The detailed provisions relative to particular descriptions of contracts follow those in the preceding treaties.

Provisions are included in the treaty for safeguarding the interests in Turkey of Allies who hold prewar concessions from the Turkish Government. Concessions granted by the Turkish Government during the war need not be recognized by the Allies in detached territories, whilst other provisions enable new states placed under a mandate to put an end to prewar concessions if thought desirable in the public interest on payment of equitable compensation to be fixed by arbitration. For this purpose, and for the purpose of all other economic clauses, Turkish companies which were actually under Allied control before the war are treated as Allied nationals.

Part X: Aerial Navigation

Turkey agrees to accord the aircraft of the Allied Powers full liberty of passage and landing over and in the territory and territorial waters of Turkey, freedom of transit, the use of all aerodromes in Turkey open to national public traffic, and equal treatment generally in these matters with Turkish aircraft and most favored nation treatment as regards internal commercial air traffic. Turkey also undertakes to establish aerodromes in localities designated by the Allied Powers, and the Allies reserve the right in certain eventualities to take measures to insure international aerial navigation over the territory and territorial waters of Turkey.

States who fought on Turkey's side in the late war are debarred from these privileges and from the grant, without Allied consent, of concessions for civil aerial navigation, unless and until they become members of the League of Nations or are permitted to adhere to the Convention of October 13, 1919, regarding aerial navigation. Turkey agrees to enforce the compliance by Turkish aircraft with the rules and regulations resulting from the latter convention. The obligations imposed by this chapter remain in force until Turkey is admitted to the League of Nations or permitted to adhere to the above-mentioned convention.

Part XI: Ports, Waterways, and Railways

Turkey is required to grant freedom of transit and national treatment to persons, goods, vessels, rolling stock, etc., coming from or going to any Allied state and passing in transit through Turkish territories. Goods in transit are to be free of all customs or other similar duties. Rates of transport are to be reasonable, and no charges or facilities are to depend directly or indirectly on the ownership or nationality of the vessel or other means of transport. Provision is made against discrimination by control of transmigrant traffic and indirect discrimination of any kind is prohibited.

International transport is to be expedited, particularly for perishable traffic. Discrimination in transport charges or facilities against Allied ports is prohibited.

The following Eastern ports are declared to be of international interest, but, subject to any provisions to the contrary, the regime laid down does not prejudice the territorial sovereignty:

Constantinople, from St. Stefano to Dolma Bagtchi, Haidar Pasha, Smyrna, Alexandretta, Haifa, Basra, Trebizond, and Batum.

The nationals, goods, and flags of all states members of the League of Nations are to enjoy complete freedom in the use of these ports, and they are to be accorded absolute equality of treatment, particularly as regards all charges and facilities.

Provision is made for free zones in the above-mentioned ports, and adequate facilities are to be provided for trade requirements without distinction of nationality. With the exception of a small statistical duty, no customs duties or analogous charges are to be levied in the free zones.

In order to insure to Turkey free access to the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas, she is accorded freedom of transit over the territories and in the ports severed from the former Ottoman Empire. Turkey is also granted a lease in perpetuity subject to determination by the League of Nations of an area in the port of Smyrna, which is to be placed under the general regime of free zones.

Free access to the Black Sea by the port of Batum is accorded to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Persia, and Armenia; and Armenia is granted similar facilities in respect of the port of Trebizond, in which port she obtains a lease of an area on similar conditions to those which apply to Turkey in the case of Smyrna.

Railways

The railway clauses provide that, subject to the rights of concessionnaire companies, goods consigned from or to Allied states to or from Turkey, or in transit through Turkey, are entitled generally to the most favorable conditions available.

Certain railway tariff questions are dealt with.

When a new railway convention has replaced the Berne Convention, it will be binding on Turkey; in the meantime she is to follow the Berne Convention.

Turkey is to cooperate in the establishment of passenger and luggage services, with direct booking between Allied states over her territory, under favorable conditions, as well as emigrant train services.

Turkey is required to fit her rolling stock with apparatus allowing of its being incorporated in Allied goods trains, and vice versa, without interfering with the brake system. Provision is made for the handing over of the installations of lines in transferred territory, and of an equitable proportion of rolling stock for use therein.

As regards lines, the administration of which will in virtue of the present treaty be divided, allocation of the rolling stock is to be made by agreement between the administrations taking over the several parts thereof. Failing agreement, the points in dispute are to be settled by an arbitrator designed by the League of Nations.

A standing conference of technical representatives nominated by the governments concerned is to be constituted to agree upon the necessary joint arrangements for through traffic working, wagon exchange, through rates and tariffs, and other similar matters affecting railways situated on territory forming part of the Turkish Empire on August 1, 1914.

As a temporary arrangement, Turkey is to execute instructions given in the name of the Allies as to transport of troops, material, munitions, etc., transport for revictualing of certain regions, and reestablishment of normal transport.

Turkey is required to subscribe to any general convention regarding the international regime of transit, waterways, ports, or railways, which may be concluded with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years.

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Telegraph and Telephone Lines

Turkey is to grant facilities for the erection and maintenance of trunk telegraph and telephone lines across her territories, and is to accord freedom of transit for telegraphic correspondence and telephonic communications coming from or going to any one of the Allied Powers. This correspondence and these communications are to enjoy national treatment in every respect.

Turkey is to transfer the landing rights at Constantinople for the Constantinople-Constanza cable to any administration or company designed by the Allies, and renounces in favor of the principal Allied Powers all her rights over the Jeddah-Suakin and Cyprus-Latakia cables.

General

Differences are to be settled by the League of Nations. Certain specified articles—e.g., those providing for equal treatment in matters of transit and transport—are subject to revision by the League of Nations after three years. Failing revision, they will only continue in force in relation to any Allied state which grants reciprocal treatment.

It is provided that, unless otherwise expressly laid down in the treaty, nothing shall prejudice more extensive rights conferred on the nationals of the Allied states by the Capitulations, or by any arrangements which may be substituted therefor.

PART XII: LABOR CONVENTION

Here follows the text of the convention as embodied in the treaty with Germany.

PART XIII: MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Turkey recognizes conventions made or to be made by the Allies as to the traffic in arms and in spirituous liquors and as to other subjects dealt with in the General Acts of Berlin of February 26, 1885, and of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the conventions completing or modifying these.

The High Contracting Parties take note of the treaty of July, 1918, between France and the Principality of Monaco.

In a barrier clause Turkey undertakes not to put forward any pecuniary claim against any Allied Power signing the present treaty, based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Turkey accepts all decrees, etc., as to Turkish ships by any Allied prize court, and the Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of Turkish prize courts. Turkey agrees to supply the Allies with all necessary information regarding vessels sunk or damaged by Turkish forces during the war and to restore trophies, archives, historical souvenirs, and works of art taken from the Allied Governments and their nationals, including companies.

Special provisions are also inserted regarding a reform of the Turkish law of antiquities and the future treatment of archaeological research in Turkey, the restoration of all objects of religious, archaeological, historical, or artistic interest removed by Turkey during the war from territories detached from her, the surrender by Turkey of all archives, plans, land registers, etc., belonging to the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other forms of administration in transferred territories, the grant of access by Turkey, subject to reciprocity, to documents, etc., relating to the administration of Wakfs in which the Governments of transferred territories are interested, the recognition by Turkey of Allied judicial decisions since the date of the armistice, the acceptance by Turkey of special measures to be formulated later by the Allied Powers, acting, if necessary, with third Powers, regarding the sanitary regime in Turkey and in the territories detached from Turkey and the sanitary control of the Hejaz Pilgrimage, the enactment of the necessary legislation by Turkey to execute the treaty, the obligation of Turkey to facilitate any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations may consider necessary in any matters relating directly or indirectly to the application of the treaty, and the accession of Russia to the treaty on certain conditions after she has become a member of the League of Nations.

The treaty, of which the French text is authentic except as regards Parts I and XII, when the English and French texts are of equal force, shall be ratified and the deposit of ratifications made at Paris as soon as possible. Various diplomatic provisions as to ratification follow. The treaty is to enter into force as soon as it has been ratified by Turkey on the one hand and by three of the principal Allied Powers on the other, so far as concerns those Powers who have then ratified it.

Boycotting Reaction in Hungary

ON June 20 an international labor boycott of the reactionary Hungarian Government was put into effect in response to the following appeal issued by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

To the workers of all countries:

The International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to boycott Hungary and to stop all communication with that country beginning June 20, 1920.

Nearly a year ago the so-called friends of order seized power in Hungary. From that day the labor movement has been the target for oppression and persecution unexampled in the annals of the labor movement, far surpassing the atrocities of Czarism in Russia.

One need only be a member of a non-religious trade union to be thrown into prison, and an anonymous denunciation is sufficient to have one seized and imprisoned in prison camps.

At the beginning of this year there were in the concentration camps: at Hajmasker, 9,000 men and women; at Csepel, 4,000; at Zalavgorszog, 2,400; at Eger, 2,000; at Coglod, 3,000; and at Homaron Sandborg, 2,000 men and women.

In all, 50,000 men and women were imprisoned. The city jails are overflowing. The prisoners are victims of the most atrocious and subtle tortures.

Five thousand workers had been "executed" by the beginning of the year. Thousands had been assassinated by bands of officers without formal trial. Thousands more are dying slowly of hunger, of under-nourishment, and of sickness. Detachments of reactionary officers hold supreme power; whoever falls into their hands is lost; their victims are tortured and beaten. There are cases, affirmed under oath by witnesses, where people have been scalped alive, where their arms and legs have been crushed, where men have been crushed or had their genital organs crushed between stones, where they have been forced to eat their own excrement, or human flesh. Fathers have been killed before the eyes of their wives and children, and young girls violated in sight of their husbands or fathers. Every day men and women belonging to the militant working-class disappear, later to be discovered as corpses, clubbed to death, drowned, and often horribly mutilated.

The International Federation of Trade Unions have protested to the Hungarian Government and to the Supreme Council of the League of Nations against these atrocities, and has demanded that steps be taken to end them. All in vain. The White Terror reigns absolute in Hungary. It is plain that the Supreme Council of the League of Nations either will not or cannot exercise the necessary pressure upon the Hungarian Government. That Government either cannot or will not stop the atrocities in its domain; it closes its eyes or encourages them.

Official documents of the Hungarian Government which are in the possession of the International Federation of Trade Unions prove that it instructed its judges to condemn prisoners even in cases where the proof of what it calls "culpability" is not clear, and that it pays rewards varying from 20,000 to 250,000 crowns for making labor leaders who have sought refuge abroad incapable of injury—which means assassinating them. These facts are known and proved. The governments which know them have refused to intervene, and probably rejoice that the labor movement is reduced to impotence and overwhelmed in Hungary.

The International Federation of Trade Unions will assume the

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task of the governments, and it appeals to the workers of all countries to refuse, beginning June 20, 1920, to do any work which might directly or indirectly benefit the Hungary of the White Terror.

Beginning June 20, 1920, no train shall cross the Hungarian frontier, no ship shall enter Hungary, and no letter or telegram shall enter or leave Hungary.

All traffic should be stopped. No coal, no raw material, no foodstuffs, nothing shall enter the country. The ruling class fought its adversaries during the war by means of the economic boycott. After the war it used the same method and is still attempting to use it to crush the Russian labor movement.

The International Federation of Trade Unions appeals to the working class of all countries to have recourse to the same instrument when it is a question of ending the bloody regime of the Hungarian Government and of saving the life and liberty of thousands of comrades.

Comrades, transport workers, sailors, railwaymen, postmen, telegraphers, and telephonists, workers of all trades without exception, reply as one man to the appeal of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

No more work for Hungary, beginning Sunday, June 20, 1920.

Against the White Terror, the boycott of the working class!

Long live international solidarity!

The International Federation of Trade Unions:

W. A. APPLETON, *President*,
L. JOUHAUX, C. MERTENS, *Vice-Presidents*,
EDO FIMMEN, J. OUDEGEEST, *Secretaries*.

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(*January—June 1920*)

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